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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 209

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BELGIAN, UK PARTIES SEND 60TH CCP ANNIVERSARY MESSAGES

OW151558 Beijing XINHUA in English 1544 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] Beijing, July 15 (XINHUA)--The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium and the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain have recently sent messages of greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP.

The message of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium says that in its extraordinary struggle for the past 60 years, the Communist Party of China has been good at linking itself with the masses and leading the masses, knowing how to correct its own mistakes and draw lessons from the mistakes while continuing its march. The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium pays tribute to Mao Zedong and other leaders of the CCP, and to the CCP itself which upholds Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It supports the Chinese people in their great struggle for the socialist modernization of China and endorses the Chinese policy of opposing imperialism and hegemonism as well as defending peace and strengthening the independence of the peoples all over the world.

The message of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain says: "your record is one of unsurpassed dedication to the working class and the oppressed people and nations."

It adds: "You have courageously upheld, and creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism and the theoretical contributions of the great Marxist leader, Comrade Mao Zedong. In the manner of a true Communist Party, you have also had the courage to educate yourselves and the people about certain negative periods that were perhaps historically inevitable in the course of any great undertaking. This will certainly add to your strength and your well-deserved prestige over a period of time."

It wishes the CCP every success in the building of socialism and in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. In addition, Shinpu Uehara, representative of a Japanese student organization, also sent a message of greetings to the CCP Central Committee on the occasion.

CSO: 4020/227

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRITAIN'S DEFENSE PLANS REVIEWED

HK260638 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 81 p 7

["New Review" column by Wu Ying Chun [0702 6601 2504]: "Britain Readjusts Defense Plans"]

[Text] The defense readjustment program submitted by British Defense Minister John Nott was passed by the House of Commons on 7 July. As an important measure taken to "rearrange defense in the 1980's," this defense readjustment program will affect not only Britain but the defense of the West as a whole.

This defense readjustment program may be summed up into three parts: the cutting of part of the conventional forces, the development of Britain's independent nuclear force, and the strengthening of nuclear and air defense capabilities. The specific methods of work are: to reduce the number of naval vessels from 59 to 50, cut the personnel of the navy by 10,000 and that of the army by 7,000, and to slightly reduce the number of British troops stationed in West Germany and dissolve a divisional command there. The expenses thus saved will then be used to purchase U.S. Trident submarine missile systems worth more than US\$10 billion to replace the outmoded Polaris missile system. The number of chaser nuclear submarines will be increased from 12 to 17 and new-type fighters and air-to-air missiles will be acquired. British Defense Minister John Nott said: After the aforementioned readjustments have been made, Britain's "air defense at sea and submarine capabilities will be greatly strengthened."

Britain's Tory government held that in the face of the growing threat from the Warsaw Pact, Britain's "top priority" is defense. Thus, although the outlays of most government departments have been greatly axed due to the pursuit of an anti-inflationary policy aimed at tightening the economy, appropriations for defense departments have enjoyed exceptional advantages and have increased year after year. However, with the rise in the price of arms and other growing expenses, the increase in defense spending still fails to meet the needs of actual expenditure. It is estimated that in order to sustain its commitments in the "three major tasks," that is, home defense, the development of its own independent nuclear force and the needs arising from its NATO commitments and future weaponry developments, Britain must make a real annual increase of at least 7 percent in its

military spending. In its present straitened circumstances, it is very difficult for Britain to increase its military spending by 3 percent each year. Thus, there is this contradiction between limited financial resources and extensive defense needs.

Under such circumstances, a protracted and heated debate was started in Britain on how their limited funds can be "used where they are needed most" in the order of "importance and urgency." The Tory government favors giving "priority" consideration to the development of an independent nuclear force in defense construction and strengthening air defense capabilities at the same time. The opposition, that is, the labor party, is against this program and put forward in parliament a motion opposing the purchase of Trident missiles (it was defeated). There are also people inside the conservative party who fear that the huge cost of Trident missiles would upset the balance in military spending at the expense of conventional forces and consequently affect Britain's commitments in NATO. In spite of everything, the government has still decided to establish a nuclear deterrent force made up of Trident missiles, and to readjust its defense spending. To this end, the government has reorganized its Defense Ministry, dismissed those officials opposed to defense policies. It has also consulted the United States, West Germany and other Western allies and won their support and understanding.

It is reported that the reduction in Britain's conventional forces is chiefly a cut in the number of civilian staff handling logistics and office work in order to retrench personnel expenses, to eliminate some of the outmoded equipment and weapons in order to save maintenance expenses, and to cut down the equipment program with "reduction in types and increase in numbers" as the key words. Commenting on the results of Britain's defense readjustment program, Defense Minister John Nott said: "We are going to have a smaller but more effective armed force which will be better equipped and more capable of coping with the kind of threat that lies ahead of us in the 1990's."

CSO: 4005/778

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CABLES FROM SUDAN, JAPAN GREET CCP ANNIVERSARY

OW151546 Beijing XINHUA in English 1532 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text! Beijing, July 15 (XINHUA)--Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, president of the Sudanese Socialist Union and president of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, recently sent a cable in observance of the 60th anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party.

The cable, sent to Hu Yaobang, chairman of the CCP Central Committee, said: "the grand achievements attained by the party are a source of both admiration and inspiration to the peoples of the Third World."

Numayri's cable expressed confidence that "the extremely cordial relations between the two countries will further be consolidated and developed."

Toshio Doko, president of the Japan-China Association on Economy and Trade, also cabled Premier Zhao Ziyang.

Doko's cable observed the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP and Zhao's election as vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee.

CSO: 4020/227

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STATUS OF BRITISH ECONOMY EXAMINED

OW252118 Beijing XINHUA in English 1923 GMT 25 Jul 81

[When Will Britain's Recession End?--by correspondent Wang Wenlian--XINHUA headline]

[text] London, July 25 (XINHUA)--Successive riots in more than 30 British towns the last few weeks plus a record unemployed population of 2.85 million, the highest in the past 50 years, have made the British more apprehensive about their country's economic future.

Despite eye-catching "summer sale" ads in show windows aimed at luring prospective customers, attention seems to be concentrating on when the present economic crisis, the seventh in Britain since World War II, will end.

Statistics show that Britain is experiencing the worst crisis in the West with an ailing economy. Last year, Britain's gross domestic product fell 3 percent, the biggest annual fall since World War II. Its industrial output value dropped 7 percent, and steel output sank to the lowest level in 40 years. The annual increase in unemployment set a precedent with a record one million added to the army of the jobless.

These indicators point to the failure of the conservative government's monetary policy of tightening and controlling money supply--measures initiated when the government took power.

However, some optimistic economists argue that some factors in the present economy offer hope for a quick recovery. They underscore figures appearing at the end of the first half of this year which, they say, indicate a slowdown in the recession. They predict that Britain has moved beyond the most difficult time with the recession having reached or soon to reach its rock bottom.

But other economists disagree with the optimistic [word indistinct] appraisal. In their opinion, although the economic decline has slowed down, industrial production remains at its lowest level. The engineering and building industries and public services continue to slump, and many enterprises are being forced out of business or are going bankrupt. In addition, fixed capital investment this year dropped to the lowest level since 1979.

These not-so-optimistic economists believe that in the next six months, Britain's economic indicators will stabilize at a low level and will not be able to turn upward until 1982. As an added proof, the treasury in a recent forecast said that Britain's economy cannot recover or may go into another recession next year.

While the optimists and the pessimists maintain their widely differing appraisals of and forecasts for Britain's economy, some laborites, trade union leaders and even some conservative party members are pressing the government for a quick change of policy. However, at an important cabinet meeting last month, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher won support from the majority of the cabinet members for her policies.

Ever since it took office in May 1979, the conservative government has hoped that its economic policy would work in curbing inflation and curing the chronic "British illness" in the post-war period. It was widely held that two years were needed before any judgment could be passed on the government policy. But so far the "British illness" persisted.

Analysts here attribute the policy's failure to an inaccurate diagnosis of the situation. But they are careful to point out that the British economy is part of the entire Western economy and is, therefore, subject to the cyclical changes of world economy.

The major industrialized nations of the West are at odds with each other economically and each is finding its own way to solve the economic problems harassing it. Whether or not these countries would eventually pool together and coordinate their policies and actions will have a telling effect on the British economy.

A careful [word indistinct] of the facts, figures and views shows that chances for Britain to score a "V-turn" (slump quickly followed by recovery) are rather slim. A "U-turn" or "L-turn" (slump followed by depression and then by a slow recovery) seems more likely.

The present government will not change its present course altogether. But some adjustments and revisions may very well be made as dictated by the circumstances with a view to bringing about an upward turn of the economy.

CSO: 4020/227

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HAN NIANLONG CRITICIZES SRV OCCUPATION OF KAMPUCHEA

OW142049 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0707 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] United Nations, 13 Jul (XINHUA)—Han Nianlong, chairman of the Chinese delegation and Chinese acting foreign minister, pointed out in his statement at the international conference on Kampuchea this afternoon that the Kampuchean issue is, in essence, Vietnam's naked aggression against a small and weak neighboring country. Vietnam has seized the territory of a sovereign state by armed force with the intention of perpetual occupation.

In his speech he said: "Since the adoption of the resolution on the situation in Kampuchea by the UN General Assembly last year, the grim situation resulting from Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea has remained unchanged."

He pointed out: "Facts have shown that the Vietnamese authorities harbor the ambition of forming an 'Indochina Federation' in order to dominate Indochina and then expand further into Southeast Asia."

He said: "By going on a rampage of killing, burning and causing famine in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese troops have brought untold sufferings to the Kampuchean people. Hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans have been forced to flee their homeland and seek refuge in other countries. This has imposed a heavy burden on neighboring countries and caused serious social problems. Vietnam, a member state of the United Nations, has invaded and occupied another member state by armed force in violation of the UN Charter and the norms of international relations, and it has seen fit to heap abuse on the resolutions of the UN General Assembly. Now the Vietnamese authorities have again refused to attend the international conference on the Kampuchean issue convened in pursuance of a general assembly resolution. This has again exposed Vietnam's truculent disdain for the great majority of the UN member states and all peace-loving people of the world."

He pointed out: While strengthening their armed aggression, the Vietnamese authorities have come out with a proposal to convene a "regional meeting" among the Indochinese and ASEAN countries. They want people to believe that their invasion of Kampuchea is merely something between neighbors, and they seek to

induce the international community to recognize their invasion of Kampuchea as a fait accompli. He also pointed out: Last May the Vietnamese authorities staged an "election" farce on Phnom Penh in an attempt to give a legal appearance to the Heng Samrin clique.

Han Nianlong said: "It should be pointed out that it is the abetment and support of the Soviet hegemonists that have made the Vietnamese authorities so reckless. It is an important part of the global strategy of the Soviet Union to use Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea to menace and ultimately control Southeast Asia. Thus, Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea is not a mere regional question; it is a far wider issue affecting the overall peace and security of the world."

He believed that in face of the grave situation in Kampuchea today, an increasing number of countries and world opinion have been vigorously calling for a prompt end to the Vietnamese aggression in the interest of a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question.

CSO: 4005/778

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

JAPANESE WRITERS DELEGATION--Ba Jin, acting chairman of the Chinese Writers Association and chairman of the Shanghai chapter of the association, gave a banquet on the evening of 30 June in honor of the Japanese writers delegation led by (Keikichi Yamamoto), president of the Japanese Federation of Literary and Art Circles. Prior to the banquet, Ba Jin met with the Japanese writers and presented to the delegation a Chinese painting done by a famous Chinese artist. [OWO91131 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 30 Jun 81 OW]

CSO: 4005/778

PARTY AND STATE

POSSIBILITY OF DENG BECOMING HEAD OF STATE VIEWED

OW281225 Tokyo KYODO in English 1207 GMT 28 Jul 81

[Text] Hong Kong, July 28 KYODO--The possibility is mounting that China's strongman party Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping will assume the post of head of state expected to be restored in a general meeting of the National People's Congress next year, an informed Chinese source here said Tuesday.

Voices are strong among Chinese party members to name Deng as the first head of state after the expected restoration of the post, but Deng is reportedly declining the office despite strong urging, the source said.

The source predicted that Deng will after all accept the post for a limited term of two years.

According to the Chinese source here, China will hold the 12th Congress of the Communist Party early next year and the first plenary session of the Sixth National People's Congress (parliament) later in the year.

Prior to the two meetings, China will hold a Standing Committee session of the current fifth parliament and the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, both late this year, to discuss constitutional amendments and the restoration of the head of state, the source said.

The source here also predicted that the aging chairman of the parliamentary Standing Committee, Ye Jianying, is likely to step down at next year's parliamentary meeting.

The likeliest successor is Peng Zhen, now one of the vice chairman of the parliamentary Standing Committee, the source said.

Ye has been known for his support of Hua Guofeng, who was demoted from party chairman to vice chairman at the party Central Committee meeting in June.

The source in Hong Kong, however, said it is still not clear whether Ye will resign from his concurrent post of party vice chairman and agree to join an advisers' committee expected to be officially created later.

The possibility is also strong that Deng will chair the planned advisers' committee and that two senior party vice chairmen Li Xiannian and Chen Yun will be named members of the advisers' committee, the source said.

At the coming plenary session of the party Central Committee, Xi Zhongxun, now party secretary, is likely to take the post of party general secretary which chairman Hu Yaobang is concurrently serving, the source said.

Xi was named party secretary at the plenary session of the party Central Committee in June.

CSO: 4020/228

SIGNIFICANCE OF ZUNYI MEETING RECAPITULATED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Ji [4545 6549]: "Zunyi Meeting"]

[Text] A vital turning point in the history of the Chinese Communist Party, the Zunyi Meeting, at the most critical moment, saved the party, the Red Army and China's revolutionary cause.

Due to the failure of the resistance against the 5th "encirclement and suppression" resulting from Wang Ming's [3769 2494] leftwing adventurism, the Central Red Army was forced to withdraw from the central revolutionary base and, beginning in October 1934, launched on a gigantic strategic move--the 25,000-11 Long March. Early on the march, the leftwing opportunists changed from aggressive adventurism to shrinking flightism. Toward the momentous event of the strategic move, they neither launched an intensive political mobilization among the broad cadres and officers and men, nor seized the favorable opportunities to take the initiative and wipe out the enemy: they resorted only to passive defensive operations to cover the move of the gigantic rear organs. As a result, the Red Army was slow in its movement and exhausted in handling the situation. Though fighting courageously and breaking through the four blockade lines of the Guomindang reactionaries, it was never able to extricate itself from the passive and vulnerable situation. In 3 short months, more than half of its personnel were lost, reduced from the 80,000 men at the beginning to 30,000 plus and finding itself in almost extreme danger. The broad party members and cadres were deeply dissatisfied with the erroneous leadership of leftwing opportunism and actively clamored for change.

In January 1935, the Red Army captured Zunyi, a strategic spot in northern Guizhou. To save the Worker-Peasant Red Army and China's revolutionary cause, the party called an enlarged meeting of the Politburo, attended by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Wang Jiaxiang [3769 4471 4382], Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Zhang Wentian [1728 5113 1131], Chen Yun [7115 0061] and Bo Gu [0590 0657], members of the Politburo, and Kai Feng [0418 0023] and Deng Fa [6772 4099], its alternate members. The enlarged participants included Li Fuchen [2621 1381 2504], Liu Bochong [0491 0130 2110], Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271], Peng Dehuai [1756 1795 2037], Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], Dong Zhentang [5516 2182 1016] and

Li Zhuoran [2621 0587 3544]. Present were Deng Xiaoping and Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938]. Communist International delegate Li De [2621 1795] also participated.

The meeting concentrated its entire effort on solving the most urgent military and organizational issues and summarized the experiential lesson of the failure of the resistance against the fifth "encirclement and suppression." At the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the erroneous line of leftwing opportunism, pointing out that the main reason for the failure was the fundamental mistakes in strategy and tactics made by the erroneous leftwing opportunist leadership. Comrade Zhou Enlai solemnly exposed and criticized the serious harms of the erroneous leftwing opportunist line and firmly supported Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership. He pointed out that, had they acted according to Comrade Mao Zedong's views, it would have been possible to smash the fifth "encirclement and suppression" and save the base. Comrade Zhu De also expressed his wholehearted support of Comrade Mao Zedong and denounced the serious consequences of losing the base and ruining the Red Army caused by the erroneous line. As a result of the firm struggles of Mao Zedong and other comrades, many of those committing leftwing errors began to become aware. In the repeated tests of the revolutionary practice, they profoundly realized the accuracy of the line advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, resolutely abandoned Wang Ming's erroneous leftwing opportunist line and aligned themselves with Comrade Mao Zedong's correct line. At the end, the meeting passed the Party Central Committee's summarizing resolution on resisting the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression," relieved Bo Gu and Li De of their party and military leadership posts, and elected Comrade Mao Zedong a member of the standing committee of the Central Politburo and a participant of the Secretariat. In the work division of the standing committee of the Politburo, it was decided that Zhang Wentian, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Wang Jiaxiang and Bo Gu organize the secretariat, with Zhang Wentian serving as the secretary general. A military command group consisting of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Jiaxiang was formed, serving as the supreme command.

On the decisive military and organizational issues, the Zunyi Meeting rectified the leftwing military line, ended the domination of Wang Ming's leftwing opportunism in the Party Central Committee, established Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership position in the Red Army and the party, and preserved the Red Army and the Party Central Committee in an extremely urgent situation, and made it possible, subsequently, to overcome Zhang Guotao's [1728 0948 3614] splittism, successfully complete the Long March and open up a new prospect of China's revolution.

6080

GSO: 4005/766

PARTY AND STATE

CCP LEADERSHIP FACES MYRIAD PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 May 81 p 2

[Article by Yan Shi [0917 1395]: "Gallantly Assume Responsibilities of Problem Solving"]

[Text] The Party Central Committee has repeatedly called on leading comrades to become men of action, reject meaningless talk, and focus their attention on the work to be done. Central newspapers and journals have published a series of commentaries along this line. Some comrades feel that leading organs have held too many meetings, circulated too many documents, attended too many briefings, requested too much information, and solved too few problems. They concede that the means of effectively solving practical problems is a matter that needs to be urgently resolved by the leadership.

There are many long-standing problems in practical work that need to be solved. This delay in seeking their solution has adversely affected, to a serious degree, the development of basic-level work and has prevented the smooth development of the four modernisations program. Although these problems for which no immediate solutions can be found have many causes, and although for objective reasons some of them have no easy solution, we must acknowledge that many of these "long-standing" problems have something to do with those leading comrades who have no intention to take the initiative or to go to the grassroots units to find practical solutions for these problems.

However, some comrades who disagree with this view content that the leadership must grasp matters of prime importance--the line, principles, and policies--and grapple with issues related to guiding thought rather than [deal with] problems in practical work, which should be handled by specific administrative departments. This is why these comrades are not keenly interested in seeking practical solutions for these problems. As a matter of fact, implementing the party's line, principles, and policies and grappling with issues related to guiding thought are part of practical work and is inseparable from the process of finding specific solutions for practical problems in work. Our oft-repeated commitment to grasp major matters is actually a pledge to study and resolve all contradictions and problems in accordance with the party's line, principles, and policies, which result from practice. To make the party's line, principles, and policies work and function truly effectively, we must again test them through practice, and prescribe feasible steps and measures to back them up, in response to the actual needs of specific

localities and departments. Efforts must also be made to unify the thinking of cadres and the masses so that they can translate policies into action, overcome various difficulties, and solve specific problems. Only in this way can we make progress in all fields of work. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Central Work Conference held toward the end of 1980, which discussed problems ranging from ideological and political matters to economic construction, proved instrumental in returning our party's line to the Marxist track and in making the party's principles and policies more feasible and more specifically clear to the public. What we face today are problems of how to act on a solid basis and how to gradually solve practical problems in accordance with the party's line, principles, and policies. If the leadership fails to solve the myriad practical problems that it faces, thorough implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies will become impossible, and its commitment to grasp major matters will be reduced to empty talk. Some comrades worry that if the leadership undertakes to solve practical problems in work, it may become bogged down in the quagmire of routine affairs. This worry actually has resulted from mixing practical problems with specific affairs. The term "practical problems" refers to practical contradictions that are laid on the table. More often than not, it also means problems of universal significance that affect the situation as a whole. Therefore, practical problems cannot be identified as the daily routine, which certainly should be handled by specific administrative departments rather than by leading comrades. By emphasizing that leaders should assume the responsibility for solving practical problems, we mean they should be relieved of those duties that should be discharged by administrative units, so that they can freely spend more time and devote more energy to contacting grassroots units, where they can conduct investigations and study and take prompt measures to solve practical problems resulting from the implementation of principles and policies and problems of universal significance to daily life. Only thus can we prevent the leadership from being aloof from reality and from placing everything under its control. Otherwise, leaders will be unable to play their leading role to the best advantage.

Some comrades maintain that the exercise of leadership means holding meetings, preparing reports, and issuing and circulating documents and instructions which can be used as a basis for solving problems. Actually, this is not true. From a practical point of view, this suggests only a direction in which problems can be solved or a measure for solution. At this point, problems remain unsolved. In our real life, the situation is complicated. Some problems in work should have been solved long ago in accordance with available guidelines and instructions. Today they remain unsolved, although years have passed. This delay in their solution must have been caused by practical contradictions. To solve them, leaders must get personally involved, visiting grassroots units so that they can conduct investigations and study there before a final decision can be made. If the leadership is concerned only with holding meetings, reviewing documents, and arguing their case in office, and if its members are unwilling to go down to the lower units, put their minds to work, and think over and solve specific problems from there, how can we achieve our intended objectives and make our work meaningful? Particularly noteworthy is the fact that many unexpected new situations and new problems may develop in the course of readjustment and reform. If we do not do everything on a solid basis, if we show no interest in studying new situations and seeking solutions for new problems, if we sit in our offices trying to solve

problems by drawing on our old experiences, and if we conduct business as usual by showing interest only in issuing some documents and instructions, we are bound to become subjectivism-oriented and divorced from reality. In this way, readjustment and reform will become impossible and our revolutionary cause will suffer losses.

Some comrades argue that, since the problems are so difficult to solve today, few are willing to risk their necks and get into trouble. To solve practical problems in work is really not very easy. In doing so, we may have to tax our energy and wrack our brains and offend people, even our superiors. If we fear troubles, love comfort, and circumvent contradictions, we will certainly be unable to solve problems. The 10 years of turmoil caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" really brought us a lot of problems and difficulties which pile up like mountains blocking the path to progress. But leaders should not lose courage to move forward in the face of difficulties and problems, and they should do painstaking and meticulous work with a high sense of responsibility to the party and people. As long as we dare to work and are good at work, and as long as we can fully mobilize all positive factors, we can certainly solve problems without difficulty. Not long ago, after reading a report entitled "Wang Chonglum [3769 1504 0243] Grasps Bean Curd" a leading comrade on the Party Central Committee said: "If each of 20 million cadres in our country can accomplish five specific jobs every day, they can get 100 million jobs done daily." This fact shows that with a spirit of action, there is no mountain that cannot be removed and there is no difficulty or problem that cannot be overcome and solved. On the other hand, if everyone takes a wait-and-see attitude toward difficulties and is full of grudges against those at the top and those at the bottom, problems will accumulate and contradictions will become more complicated than ever, until, in layman's language, they get out of hand and therefore become more difficult to solve. We had better start acting right now rather than later. Comrades, let us demonstrate courage to assume the heavy responsibility for solving problems!

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CSO: 4005/719

PARTY AND STATE

CCP PLENUM RESOLUTION CRITICIZED

OW271529 (Clandestine) Ba Y1 Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 25 Jul 81

[Text] With the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" adopted by the party Central Committee's sixth plenary session being studied in a comprehensive way by the whole army, it is only natural that commanders and fighters throughout the army should be increasingly interested in discussing issues of our country's history over the past 30 years or so since the founding of the people's republic. This is partly because most of them have gone through the whole train of historical events during this period and have learned a lot from them and because their memory of these crucial events still is vivid and fresh in their mind. Another reason is that the "resolution" takes up minor issues while evading the very important ones and deliberately glosses over the consequences of past mistakes. It also fails to mention the issue of our erroneous line of foreign affairs, the arbitrary amplification of the scope of involvement in the Lin Biao case and the issue of mishandling, after the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, of the more than tens of thousands of cases of commanders and fighters who took part in "three-support and two-military" activities. The inclusion of these issues in the "resolution" was recommended by quite a few comrades.

Thus, many comrades have made use of the opportunity of studying the party's "resolution" to voice their personal views on these issues. It is the opinion of the overwhelming majority of comrades that the purpose of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee in adopting the "resolution" was to unify the thinking of all sectors of the country, to unite the people throughout China, and to clarify historical issues and get them off the people's backs so that they will not hinder our advance and no similar mistakes will be made in future. Thus, all historical issues should have been conscientiously dealt with in the manner of seeking truth from facts so that the resolution on certain questions in the history of our party adopted by the recent plenary session of the party Central Committee will be gladly and wholeheartedly accepted by the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. But this spirit is not embodied in the "resolution," and you know it is not when you read it. Nor has the "resolution" achieved its purpose.

Extremely important is the fact that the "resolution" evades the issue of our foreign policy. Guided by a completely wrong line on foreign affairs over the past decade or so, our country's relations with Albania, Vietnam, Cuba and

other socialist countries as well as with India have constantly deteriorated. Previously, our neighbors were either our allies or were friendly to us, except for the party on the other side of the Taiwan Strait. Now we find that we are surrounded by enemies.

The "resolution" objectively evaluates the antirightists campaign some 20 years ago but fails to mention the cruel persecution of scores of thousands of innocent commanders and fighters for their part in the "three-support and two-military" activities. This persecution was carried out under the name of consolidating the army after the overthrow of the "gang of four" and was expedited after Comrade Deng Xiaoping was put in charge of work of the party Central Committee.

The "resolution" also fails to objectively sum up and evaluate the question of Lin Biao's case in a comprehensive way. The Lin Biao case was the biggest frameup in the history of our army. It was concocted by the "gang of four" in 1971. As a result of it, leaders throughout the entire army, including the defense minister, the chief of the general staff and heads of the PLA's general departments and service branches, were almost all detained and thrown into jail. A nationwide campaign to criticize Lin Biao was launched in 1972 and a large number of the army's leading cadres were arrested.

During the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius initiated by Jiang Qing and Wang Hongwen in 1974, many army cadres were again persecuted. After the downfall of the "gang of four," especially when Comrade Deng Xiaoping came to power, the Lin Biao case was again used to indiscriminately attack cadres in the army. Until now, quite a few leading army cadres are still serving prison terms on charges of involvement in the case.

If the "resolution" adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee had summed all these issues in the manner of seeking truth from facts, it would have helped more to unify the people's thinking, unite army cadres and unite the whole party, the whole army and the people of the country.

CSO: 4005/779

SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS AN IMPORTANT MAXIM FOR 60 YEARS

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Zheng Yanshi [6774 6056 1395]: "Uphold and Carry Forward the Party's Excellent Tradition of Seeking Truth From Facts--In Commemoration of the Founding of the Chinese Communist Party"]

[Text] From 1 July 1921 to date, the Chinese Communist Party has fulfilled 60 years of protracted revolutionary struggle. Through the struggle, a series of excellent traditions and workstyles of the Communist Party has emerged. Among them is the most excellent tradition and workstyle of seeking truth from facts.

Our party's ideological line calls for seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality. Its correctness will have a decisive effect on the correctness of the party's political line. Whether or not we uphold the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts will hold the key to the success or failure of the cause of revolution and construction. The term "facts" means proceeding from reality, taking into consideration the facts, and acknowledging the objective existence of matters independent of man's will. The term "to seek truth" means investigating and studying the internal relations of objective matters and deriving from them, as our guide to action, laws that are inherent in them and not imaginary. In doing so, we cannot merely proceed with our work from books or instructions from higher authorities. Instead, we must proceed from reality and seek truth from facts in the formulation and implementation of the party's principles and policies. If proven correct, a policy must be upheld. If proven partially wrong, it should be modified. If proven totally wrong, it should be redrafted until it falls in line with objective reality. This is what we call seeking truth from facts. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has come up with some new Marxist conclusions and new policy decisions on major issues. Among them are decisions on shifting the emphasis of the party's and the nation's work, on carrying out an analysis of the class situation at home, and on implementing the policies and tasks for economic and cultural development. These decisions, compatible with objective reality, resulted from upholding the excellent style of seeking truth from facts.

In carrying forward the party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts, we must act in accordance with objective laws and oppose subjectivism. A basic principle contained in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge is that any law inherent in matter is objective and independent of man's will. We as human beings cannot create laws like that; we can only get to know and apply them until we

can act in accordance with these objective laws. As we now undertake to develop the socialist economy, we must recognize and act in accordance with many objective economic laws. Among these are the basic socialist economic law, the law governing the harmonious relationship between the organization of production and productive forces, the law governing the proportional and planned development of the national economy, the law of value under the socialist system, and the socialist principles of material interests and of to each according to his work. We must observe rather than violate these laws.

Our First 5-Year Plan proved to be more compatible with objective laws than did any succeeding plans. It handled relations between all sectors of the economy properly and was instrumental in developing the economy at high speed. But the prevalence of the "communist wind," the "pompous lifestyle," the "striving for high quotas," and the "blind dictation of orders" that came after 1958 disrupted the proportional development of the economy in accordance with objective laws and threw our nation into the throes of grave economic difficulties that lasted 3 years and were aggravated by the subsequent Soviet sabotage and by natural disasters. Had the policy of readjustment, consolidation, reinforcement, and improvement not been put into effect in 1961 in an effort to correct the disproportionate development of the economy, we might not have been able to tide over that grave, difficult period, and the excellent situation brought about by the vigorous development of the national economy might not have come at all in the years that followed. As far as the socialist economy is concerned, there are still many realms unknown to us. For this reason, we must gradually overcome our blind economic approach, get to know the objective laws, and deepen our understanding of them step by step through practice. We must clearly understand these laws so as to carry forward the party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts.

While carrying forward the party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts, we must proceed with work from reality and analyze the specific situation in concrete terms. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was a great turning point in the history of our party. The general guidelines or the general guiding principles of the Third Plenum call for "emancipating the mind, starting up the machinery, seeking truth from facts, uniting and looking forward. In other words, these guidelines call for thoroughly eliminating the 'leftist' ideology and for proceeding with work on the basis of reality." Proceeding from reality at all times means taking into account the actual conditions of all specific localities and units in the course of implementing the principles, policies, and decisions of the higher authorities. Proceeding from reality also means refraining from learning from and promoting the advanced experiences of other areas in a mechanical manner and refraining from practicing formalism. In the face of the new situation, we must study new problems in a way that takes into account the actual situation.

In the course of economic construction, we communists must seek truth from facts and proceed from reality at all times and on all occasions. The most important requirement of all is that we must proceed with our work on the basis of the current conditions of our nation. What are the basic conditions of our country? China is a country with a population of 1 billion, 800 million of whom are peasants. If such basic conditions of our nation are not accounted for in the socialist modernization program, and if we speed up this modernization without taking into account the actual capacity of our human, material, and financial resources, it is certain that we will

run into troubles that are contrary to our wishes, and the results will be counter-productive. This is why we should develop our economy within the capacity of our available resources, and why we must execute every economic policy and set each economic target in a way that takes into account the actual situation. This idea is applicable not only to the nation but also to every locality, department, and unit.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party the people throughout the country have worked hard and scored great successes in eliminating chaos and restoring order, rectifying the ideological, political, and organizational line, strengthening the socialist legal system, and restoring the healthy development of the national economy. Remarkable changes have taken place in all fields of work in our country. Finally, our suffering motherland is on the way to prosperity. In 1980, our national income was 363 billion yuan, more than 15 times greater than in 1949, and the output of steel, crude oil, grain, and cotton was 234, 882, 1.8, and 5.1 times greater, respectively, than in 1949. This success has resulted from the Party Central Committee's efforts to uphold and carry forward the party's excellent tradition of seeking truth from facts and to draft a correct policy on the basis of a correct assessment of the current situation and a clear understanding of objective laws.

Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and the provincial and municipal party committees, Harbin also has scored gratifying successes, thanks to the hard work and efforts of its people in upholding and carrying forward the party's glorious tradition of seeking truth from facts. In 1980, Harbin's gross value of industrial output was 40.5 times greater than in 1949, and commodity retail sales were 17 times greater than in the early days of the founding of new China. In 1980, the municipality registered an increase of 9.1 percent in city revenue over 1979. Rapid progress has also been made in urban development, science, technology, culture, education, public health, and sports and physical education.

In order to uphold and carry forward the party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts, we must consider it very important to constantly conduct thorough and careful investigation and study of actual conditions. In the absence of investigation and study, an accurate picture will never emerge. Investigation does not mean sightseeing on horseback or only a general glimpse of the picture. It is not necessary to come to a hasty decision as soon as an investigation is over. Conscientious research is needed before any decision is made. A correct decision compatible with objective reality will come only after the actual situation is clearly understood.

Upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, bringing investigation and study to a successful conclusion, and doing "everything" on a "solid" basis should be regarded by our party organizations at all levels, by cadres as well as by party members, as their important duties and as essential conditions for our party to avoid mistakes in the formulation of principles and policies and in the process of making major decisions. However, some comrades within our party, particularly responsible comrades, are interested not in seeking truth from facts but in promoting subjectivism. Their behavior is mainly reflected in the following ways: 1) Some comrades love a pompous style. They are lazy, unwilling to do everything on a solid basis, and unwilling to conduct investigations and studies. They prefer to sit in their homes thinking and thinking without the facts at their fingertips. They make

policies out of their imagination and subjective judgment. They never act in a manner that is appropriate to all localities and suitable to all times. They blindly dictate orders to others and cut everything the same way. 2) Some comrades think of problems and handle them without taking the actual situation into account. They proceed to work from books, and they like to copy everything mechanically and blindly from there before their transmission to others. 3) Some comrades emphasize empiricism in their method of work. They like to exaggerate imperfect and incomplete experiences and interpret them in absolute terms, and they want others to copy these experiences and pass them around without changes. 4) Some comrades are so arrogant and overbearing in their thinking, so conservative, so self-centered and egocentric, that they have rejected the good experiences accumulated by others. 5) A few comrades often intend to impose their ways of thinking and their will on others in pursuit of the "me first" doctrine. They regard what they say as law and want others to follow their orders.

Severely criticizing subjectivism which rejects the principle of proceeding from objective reality, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Unscientific and anti-Marxist-Leninist subjective methods are the enemy of the Communist Party, the enemy of the working class, the enemy of the people, the enemy of the nation, and a manifestation of party character that needs to be purified."

History and practical experiences and lessons teach us that if we fail to tell the truth about a situation, if we fail to achieve an overall understanding of the situation, and if we fail to clearly understand the "facts," we will certainly be easily misled into making wrong decisions on problems to be solved. For this reason, we must understand how important it is to truly reflect the situation and how important it is to "listen to both sides of a dispute, thus enlightening people to a new solution." We must lend our ears not only to pleasing words but also to unpleasing comments as well. We must understand achievements as well as failures. Only in this way can we accurately distinguish right from wrong, evaluate merits and demerits correctly, make right decisions or policy decisions on matters of interest, and pledge to provide correct party leadership.

The principle of seeking truth from facts also requires us to tell the party the truth and to truly reflect the current situation. Being loyal to the party means being openminded and aboveboard. Party members should never conceal their views and actions from the party. Nor should they play games and tricks with the party by saying something nice about the party at meetings and acting mischievously behind its back. They should tell the party the truth and truly reflect to it the current situation. Any coverup or distortion of facts will not be tolerated. We must present problems to the party as accurately as possible. We must present the facts to the party in the same way. We must pass around not only the good news but also the bad news. We should never abridge a story. We should neither exaggerate nor understate a situation. Comrade Mao Zedong taught us: "In the final analysis, honest people will benefit the people's cause as well as themselves. Liars will do both others and themselves harm and will eat the bitter fruits of their own sowing." "We must work hard but should never lie."

Only by telling the party the truth and by truly reflecting the current situation can we enjoy a sound inner-party life, strengthen the unity of the party, promptly discover good personalities and good deeds, and expose and eliminate from the party unhealthy tendencies and bad personalities and misdeeds.

The overwhelming majority of party members in Harbin Municipality have distinguished themselves by upholding and carrying forward the party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts, by showing loyalty to the party, and by reflecting to it the true situation. But a few comrades, influenced by the ideology of the exploiting classes and believing in individualism or departmentalism, have failed to tell the party the truth. They have exaggerated their achievements in order to delude the party into awarding them honors they do not deserve. There are also some people who have exaggerated the difficulties they face in order to win support from others. They cover up the truth, deceive the people, and are extremely dishonest. Such acts of deception have caused great damage to the cause of the party. There are other people heavily imbued with an inordinate bourgeois desire for fame and profit. They have been forced to lie to others. This wrongdoing has also caused damage to the cause of the party. Some people even view swindlers as clever people, and view those who seek truth from facts and who are honest and loyal to the party as fools. They assume that "whoever is honest will suffer." This idea is also wrong. Although these people may "profit" for the time being from cheating, in the long run they will come to no good end. All those who are loyal to the party, seek truth from facts, and truly reflect the situation as it exists will finally be rewarded to be sure. Even if they "suffer a little bit," at long last they will win the trust and support of the party and people.

During the past 60 years, as in the rest of the country, Harbin under the leadership of the great, glorious, and correct CCP has distinguished itself by upholding and carrying forward the party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts, uniting to struggle heroically, and making contributions to the great victory of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. A review of our glorious past will inspire and cheer up our spirits. A look to the future and to the boundlessly bright prospect of our nation will redouble our confidence. In the future, we must continue to uphold and carry forward the party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts. Only in this way can we strive to fulfill the difficult task of developing socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4005/727

PARTY AND STATE

BOURGEOIS WAYS OF LIFE AFFECTING YOUNGER GENERATION HIT

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 81 p 2

[Article by Zhao Wande [6392 5502 1795]: "It Is Necessary to Prevent 'Spiritual Pollution'"]

[Text] Originally, the water and air were clean and fresh until they were contaminated by the discharge of the "three industrial wastes" and did harm to the people's health. There exist in our social life ills that resemble the "three wastes" discharged by industry. Such social ills have created a similar contaminating effect on the mentality of our youngsters.

During the 10 years of turmoil, extreme individualism and anarchism flooded the land like a flood of dirty water, seriously contaminating the minds of youths. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," our young generation has quickly awakened. The overwhelming majority of our youngsters are in high spirits striving to move upward. Yet the impurities that have contaminated the minds of youths as a result of the 10 years of turmoil cannot be cleaned up in a single morning. Today, as our country increases its contacts with foreign countries, bourgeois ways of life, anarchism, and other bad ideas and lifestyles have begun to filter into our social life through various channels. Some youths who have no social experience and no ability to distinguish beauty from ugliness have proven susceptible to such bad ideas and bad lifestyles. Some individual youths have shown an interest in imitating the dress and makeup of foreigners to an intolerable degree. Some are greedy for a comfortable life and love eating, drinking, and other luxuries. Others who consider socialism inferior to capitalism have even done something disgraceful to our national dignity. There are also individual youths who have committed crimes.

The aforementioned facts show that the problem resulting from the contamination of our young minds deserves our attention. Since youths are the future of our nation, they must realize that they have a very heavy responsibility to assume, and that therefore they should study and work hard to revitalize the Chinese nation, strive to build a socialist spiritual civilization, and become successors to the revolutionary cause through competition. Our society as a whole should be concerned with the healthy growth of our youngsters. In this connection, I suggest the following three ways to eliminate this type of pollution: 1) Ways must be found by departments concerned to stem the flow of social ills. For example, foreign films, publications, and photographs with obscene contents should be restricted and properly controlled.

2) Active efforts must be made to educate youngsters in Marxist ideology, revolutionary ideals and traditions so that they can foster a revolutionary view of life and increase immunity to pernicious influences. 3) Lively literary and sports activities catering to the actual interests of youngsters must be organized in order to help them foster healthy interests in life and develop the good habit of loving civilized life.

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CSO: 4005/727

PARTY AND STATE

ACCURACY OF GUO MORUO'S 'HISTORICAL' BOOK DEBATED

Critical Article Published

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Jian Qun [1696 6746]: "I Love Truth Even More"]

[Text] Recently, Yao Xueyin [1202 7185 0995] published an article entitled "On 'Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event.'" A reading of this article is highly inspirational to me. That article cites reliable historical documents to refute many errors in a widely read article on history published by Guo Moruo [6753 3106 5387] 37 years ago, and to criticize with candor elderly Guo's "long-established, loosely organized, indisciplined approach to study (including his learning attitude and methods." Yao Xueyin's viewpoint is unequivocal, and his attitude toward this matter is sincere and serious. Despite this, he still paid due respect to and showed a love for elderly Guo that flow between the lines. The entire article is pervaded with a spirit of love, just as its writer states: "I love my teacher, but I love truth even more."

Developing academic and literary and art criticism in a healthy manner is an important step in enhancing the development of science, literature, and art and making them flourish. Yao Xueyin's article marks a good beginning for us in promoting criticism with reasoning, persuasion, and good mannerisms, and in launching criticism in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts. This point means more to us than the academic value of that article itself.

Cao Pi [2580 0012] once said: "Men of letters tend to despise one another. This is something that did not start today." However, this remark is at least onesided and therefore not true. As everyone can clearly see, during the various stages of cultural development in Chinese history, there were always a number or several groups of outstanding scholars, thinkers, and men of letters who met to pursue their common goal--to launch academic and literary and art criticism in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality in order to improve their skills. Their collective contributions to the development of cultural activities have left a mark on Chinese history. The ancient people referred to this as "sessions of mutual improvement in arts and crafts." They resembled the development of mutual criticism, through discussion, to the sharpening of skills in processing curios, ivory, and jade. This analogy is indeed very appropriate and pertinent. In January 1977, when Yao Xueyin wrote a

letter to elderly Guo reminding the latter of their differences over the cases of Liu Zongmin (0491 1350 2404) and Li Xin (2621 0207), elderly Guo, who was ill by then, replied: "I am in complete agreement with your views. I wish you success and thank you for correcting my mistakes." This correspondence provides the best example of "how mutual criticism and mutual discussion can benefit the people."

Chinese intellectuals must carry forward this excellent tradition. What is important is that in the course of debate and criticism, everyone must treat other people as equals and should refrain from bullying his adversaries from some powerful position he holds or suppressing their voices with the backing of his influential allies. This point was emphasized by Comrade Mao Zedong 24 years ago. In this connection, he said: "When writing an article, one should not be forever thinking 'how smart I am,' but should put oneself on a completely equal footing with one's readers." I think that the so-called "readers" here must also include targets of criticism. As far as this point is concerned, the article "On 'Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event'" deserves our commendation.

Criticism Repudiated

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 23 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Xiao Liu (1420 3177): "A Few Words on Behalf of Old Guo"]

[Text] A reading of Comrade Yao Xueyin's [1202 7185 0995] article "On 'Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event'" reminds me that there are imperfections in his literary style. After reading another article, "I Love Truth Even More," that appeared in the BEIJING WANBAO "A Hundred Schools of Thought" column, I feel that the article "On 'Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event'" has received more praises than it really deserves.

Any criticism of academic, literary, and art works must be conducted by seeking truth from facts. In contrast to Yao Xueyin's article "On 'Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event,'" elderly Guo's work "Commemoration of a Three-Centuries-Old Event" is based on reliable evidence and facts, and can be entirely verified by recorded history. Elderly Guo's evaluation of the founders of the Dashun [Qing] Dynasty--Li Zicheng [2621 5261 2052] and Li Yan [2621 1484]--and his publication of "Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event" in 1944, at a time when the country remained under the dark rule of the Kuomintang, really called for courage. No one can deny this article of its historical and political significance. After its publication, this article immediately commanded the attention of the Party Central Committee and was published in book form and circulated to readers in Yanan and other liberated areas. This is a fact that cannot be denied.

Comrade Yao Xueyin called his work "Li Zicheng" a historical novel. However, beginning with its Chapter II, he treated the contingents of peasants who staged uprisings toward the declining years of the Ming Dynasty as if they were Eighth Route Army units. Particularly noteworthy is his portrayal of Madame Gao in his novel, which is almost entirely not based on historical facts. It is clear that this novel was written under the influence of the "three-emphasis" principle. There are evident imperfections in the work "Li Zicheng." However, its author never criticized himself for such imperfections in his article "On 'Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event.'" On the contrary, he adopted a completely negative attitude toward elderly Guo, whom he called "a teacher I love."

Recorded history was totally disregarded by Comrade Yao Xueyin when he wrote that article "On 'Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event,'" which is based on his "experiences from living in Qixian County." In this connection, he said: "When I was young, I visited that place three times. Each stay lasted from 3 to 6 months. During these stays, I never heard people there talk about Li Zicheng and Li Yan." To him, this seems to be sufficient evidence to deny the conclusions that elderly Guo drew from three books--"History of the Ming Dynasty," "A Short Account of Emperor Lie," and "Northern Strategy of the Late Ming Dynasty." On that basis, he also subjectively and arbitrarily denied the existence of Li Yan along with the red woman. I feel that whether Li Yan did exist is a subject of debate. But this should not be used as an excuse to accuse elderly Guo of being "an undisciplined scholar." If we live in Beijing for 6 months or more and never hear residents there talk about cave-men on the mountaintops, is it logical to deny that there are cave-men there?

In 1977, there was a letter from elderly Guo to Yao Xueyin which read in part: "I am in complete agreement with your views. I wish you success and thank you for correcting my mistakes." This letter applies only to the evaluation of Liu Zongmin [0491 1350 2404] and Li Xin [2621 0207] contained in the preface to the novel "Li Zicheng," and should not be regarded as evidence that Guo had denounced the major viewpoints contained in his "Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event," as was assumed by Comrade Yao Xueyin in his article "On 'Commemoration of a Three-Century-Old Event.'" Comrade Yao's attitude toward this matter can hardly be understood. If old Guo were still alive today, what would have been his reaction to this attitude?

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CSO: 4005/723

PARTY AND STATE

ZHEJIANG CPPCC SESSION ISSUES RESOLUTIONS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 81 p 3

[Article: "The Political Resolutions of the Third Session of the CPPCC Zhejiang Province Fourth Committee, 22 May 1981"]

[Text] The Third Session of the CPPCC Zhejiang Province Fourth Committee was held in Hangzhou 14-22 May 1981. The session first studied the important speeches of Central Committee leading comrades on the assessment of Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought, and unanimously agreed to study still further Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and to take them as guidance in our work. The session heard a speech by First Secretary Tie Ying [6993 3841] of the CCP Zhejiang Province Committee, heard the opening speech by Chairman Mao Qihua [3029 7871 5478] of the CPPCC Zhejiang Province Committee, listened to and examined a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC Zhejiang Province Committee delivered by Vice Chairman Wang Jiwu [3769 1323 0582], attended the Third Session of the Zhejiang Province Fifth People's Congress, listened to the opening speech by Chairman Tie Ying of the Standing Committee of the Zhejiang Province People's Congress and the "report on government work" delivered by Vice Governor Chen Zuolin [7115 0155 7207], and other reports. With their high sense of responsibility to the country and to the people, proceeding from the actual conditions of Zhejiang Province, all committee members present at the session studied seriously and discussed vigorously how to further implement the spirit of the work conference held by the CCP Central Committee, uphold the four basic principles, develop and consolidate the stability and unity of the political situation, conscientiously accomplish economic readjustment, increase industrial and agricultural production, and promote the healthy development of the four modernizations and the enrichment of the state, the collectives and the people.

The session held that in more than a year, under the guidance of the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, and under the leadership of the CCP Zhejiang Province Committee, our province has further consolidated and developed the stability and unity of its political situation, the provincial economy has made progress in readjustment, industrial and agricultural production have continued to increase, and the people's living has been further improved. Our political and economic situation has seldom been so good since the founding of the people's republic. During this period, our CPPCC provincial committee has further enlivened its work. In their speeches and the "report on government work," the responsible comrades of the provincial party

committee set down new demands and expectations for us, and we are greatly inspired and encouraged. The session participants unanimously pledged that under the leadership of the CCP Zhejiang Province Committee, they are determined to strengthen unity, be of one heart and one mind, fight amid hardships, get together with the people of all nationalities in the province, and do their work still more effectively with a view to doing a good job of economic readjustment, actively develop stability and unity in the political situation, and bring into full play the CPPCC's role of democratic consultation and supervision.

The session participants expressed their complete agreement with and warm support for all the important reports of the Third Session of the Zhejiang Province Fifth People's Congress and fully affirmed the achievements in all fields made by the Zhejiang Province People's Government in the past year and more. They also unanimously pledged that they will, at their different work posts and with a pragmatic spirit and attitude of masters of the state, further emancipate their minds, seek truth from facts, give play to the special skills of all sectors of the people, and strive to accomplish the various tasks laid down by the Third Session of Zhejiang Province Fifth People's Congress. They expressed their approval of the leading members named by the byelection of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and the choice of vice governors as so decided.

The session held that as new conditions, new issues and new difficulties emerge in the course of economic readjustment, it is up to us to strengthen investigation and study, report to the government promptly, and positively suggest ways and means of dealing with problems. We should proceed from the actual conditions of Zhejiang Province, unswervingly implement the spirit of the Central Committee Work Conference, continue cleaning out the "leftist" influence, further do a good job in economic readjustment, and bring about a new growth in industrial and agricultural production. To consolidate and promote stability and unity in the political situation, we must intensify further the study of the four basic principles and strengthen propaganda and education in these principles. These four basic principles constitute the basis for the founding and building of our nation, and are the guiding principles for the words and actions of all our citizens. The line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the CCP 11th Central Committee specifically manifest these four basic principles. The study and propagation of the line of the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee should be unified with the upholding of the four basic principles. All incorrect tendencies which do harm to stability and unity and run counter to the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and the four basic principles, either from the "left" or from the right, should be corrected boldly and patiently by persuasion and education or criticism.

Struggle should be waged resolutely against influences which undermine stability and unity. While promoting socialist democracy, we must strengthen the propaganda and education in the socialist legal system so that all the people will understand and obey the laws and strengthen their sense of legality. We should show our deep concern for the growth of the young people; strengthen education in patriotism, in ideals for the future and in moral qualities; intensify national pride and self-confidence; foster communist values; give energetic support to the vigorously emerging activities of "learning from Lei Feng," "establishing a new style," "five stresses" and "four beauties"; and build our socialist spiritual civilization.

One of the three major tasks in the 1980's is to realize the unification of our motherland with the return of Taiwan to its homeland. We should fully use various favorable conditions and through various channels make still greater efforts for the unification of our motherland.

The session called upon the people of all nationalities, all democratic parties, all people's organizations, all CPPCC committees of various levels and their members to fully recognize their glorious historic mission. We are all masters of the state. As the saying goes: "Every man has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country." The realization of the four modernizations is an important task entrusted to us by history. We should unite ourselves more closely around the Communist Party of China, give full play to the CPPCC's active role in unremittingly consolidating and developing our revolutionary and patriotic united front, and exert ourselves in the struggle for building a beautiful, countiful Zhejiang and for building a modern, powerful socialist country!

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CSO: 4005/657

PARTY AND STATE

THOROUGH STUDY OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY EMPHASIZED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 6 May 81 p 3

[Article by Kong Qingren [1313 1987 0088]: "Study Revolutionary Theory Thoroughly"]

[Excerpt] Our party has always given unparalleled serious attention to the study of revolutionary theory and laid down the rule that Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical basis to guide us in our thinking. However, in the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly distorted and undermined Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought so that the prestige and status of the revolutionary theory were damaged among the broad masses of people. As a result, incorrect views emerged that theory is useless, dangerous and changeable; in practical life an incorrect trend appeared of despising and being fed up with revolutionary theory. This state of affairs commands our serious attention and should not be taken lightly. Otherwise, the consequence will be very dangerous.

Is theory really useless? Certainly not. We must first mention that the stipulation of correct lines, principles and policies cannot be separated from the guidance of theory; we can even see from practical life that the role of theory is not to be overlooked. Why during the "Great Cultural Revolution" did some people not believe in the tricks of Lin Biao, Kang Sheng [1660 3932] and the "gang of four," while other people believed very strongly in them and banged the drum for them? Why could some people understand and correctly carry out the party's policies, while others veered either to the "left" or to the right, or adopted only those policies which they found useful and quoted out of context? Why could some people correctly judge, explain and deal with various phenomena in the society while others were prejudiced and went to extremes? The facts have proved that one's theoretical level and the way one applies theory have an important influence on one's thinking, ability, accomplishment, personal quality, study, work and life. How can one say that theory is useless?

Is theory dangerous? In a certain sense, this may be true. During the period of reactionary rule, when one tried to study, apply and uphold revolutionary theory, one would land in jail or be beheaded. During the period of the rule of an opportunist line, one would also suffer ruthless struggle and merciless blows, and would even lose one's life. At present, in a very few units and in isolated cases, one could meet with satirical remarks, verbal thrusts, sneers and even blows. However, would not a true revolutionary show his noble spirit and unyielding faith in such a "dangerous" situation? At present, in our country the party is waging a

positive struggle in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In the study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, not only do we have no danger to talk about, but we receive encouragement and support. Even if in some isolated cases we persisted in the truth and upheld principles but were misunderstood and wronged, or even made to suffer, we cannot talk about being in any danger because we strongly believe that the truth must prevail and justice stands forever.

Does theory change frequently? We say that revolutionary theory is, of course, not unchangeable and that it always continuously develops and becomes richer and better in practice. This "change" certainly does not mean that "one can never be certain about theory, as the policies always change," as some people allege. Let me explain the "change" which recently some people have been talking about. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," and especially after the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has proceeded from reality, established a Marxist ideological, political and organizational line, stipulated a series of correct principles and policies, carried out a great deal of work, and gained conspicuous results. However, some problems have been revealed in the course of actual implementation. For instance, when we laid stress on "to each according to his work" and gave material rewards, we overlooked the necessity of political and ideological work, so incidents occurred, including giving away bonuses indiscriminately. When we granted the power of making decisions to the enterprises and decentralized economic management, some people refused to observe the unified plans of the central authorities, each went his own way, and practiced selfish departmentalism. When we tried to enliven the market by opening country fair trade in towns and villages, some people engaged in speculation and profiteering, and smuggled goods against the law. When we advocated emancipating minds and developing democracy, some people carried on anarchism and ultra-individualism, and even tried to break away from the leadership of our party. On the discovery of such wrong tendencies, the party Central Committee immediately took measures to carry out correction and improvement. Then some people held that the theory "changed," and the policies were "changed." This was entirely a false conception. The series of policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee as well as their theoretical foundation have been found by the test of practice to be correct, so why change? In cases where mistaken tendencies have emerged in the actual process of carrying them out, criticism and correction has been done. This was for the purpose of maintaining the purity of the party's policies and theories, the better to implement them. As to the need to supplement and perfect some policies as experience has unfolded, that cannot be called "change." If one is determined to call it "change," then it was a change for the better. We must have a profound understanding of the scientificness, the earnestness, the roots in principles, the flexibility, and the theoretical underpinnings of the party's policies, and positively not mistakenly view certain phenomena in actual work to be changes in the party's policies and theories.

Without the guidance of revolutionary theory, a person cannot take conscious revolutionary action. Lenin cited Engels' view that "The great struggle in the socialist movement is not between two forms (the political and the economic),--as is frequently held in our country,--but rather among three forms: along with these two struggles is the struggle over theory." "Unless people have a sense of theory, this scientific socialism positively cannot penetrate their flesh and blood as it

does now." The theoretical level of the people of a political party, a nationality, or a country symbolizes the course the people of a political party, a nationality, or a country have taken along the road of historical development, and symbolizes the degree of their progress, wisdom, civilization and development. Today, China is in a new period of historical development. We want to take determined steps to realize the four modernizations, and proceed toward the advanced forest of the world. One necessary prerequisite is the guidance of correct revolutionary theory. This requires that all party members and the people of the entire country diligently and painstakingly study Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, greatly increase their levels of revolutionary theory, and use a revolutionary spirit to undertake work and life intelligently. Right now, most important in the study of Marxism-Leninism and the study of the works of Comrade Mao Zedong is the study of philosophy and the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong, as for example, "On Contradictions," and "On Practice," as well as "Strategic Problems in the Chinese Revolutionary War," "Strategic Problems in Guerrilla Warfare Against Japan," and "On Protracted War," in order to lay a good foundation in theory and practice so as to make a greater contribution to the four modernizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

PREVENT ERRORS BY AVOIDING BEING TOO EAGER FOR QUICK RESULTS

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Peng Xiangfu [1756 3276 4359]: "Adhere To Seeking Truth from Facts, Don't Be Too Eager for Quick Results"]

[Text] During the 32 years since the founding of our state, our socialist revolution and construction have achieved great results. But we have also committed "leftist" errors several times and suffered serious setbacks. The fact that these errors have repeatedly occurred, as we examine their cause, is inseparable from the eagerness for quick results shown in our guiding principles. It looks like, if we are thoroughly to correct these "leftist" errors and carry out the line, principles and policies of the 30 Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we must bring about a profound understanding of the mentality of being too eager for quick results

Being too eager for quick results, when reflected in the evolution of production relations, means ignoring the actual level of the productive forces in our society, being anxious to evolve toward a higher form of ownership, cutting off complements necessary to the present stage of our socialist economy like private plots of land, family sideline enterprises in the countryside, market trade, and small numbers of individual economics as "capitalist tail." When reflected in economic construction, it means overlooking our material and financial resources, blindly running after high speed, high targets, high accumulation, and blindly resorting to large-scale capital construction. As a result, we violated the principle that production relations must adapt to the developmental level of productive forces, we violated the requirements of the basic economic laws of socialism and the law that the national economy must develop in a planned and proportionate way, so that the development of productive forces became hampered and sabotaged, and the process of socialist construction also became delayed.

Lenin said: "When we analyze any social problem, the absolute requirement of Marxist theory is to put the problem in a given historical context" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 512). The fact that we have demonstrated repeatedly the mentality of being too eager for quick results really has its profound social and historical causes.

As everyone knows, ours is a country where the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie are as vast as the ocean. The petty bourgeois elements have the revolutionary enthusiasm of wishing urgently to change their present condition because of their low

political and economic status. But, because of the backward productive mode and narrow vision of their small-scale production, they also lack the patience and resilience to make long-range efforts for the name of the revolution. Before the victory of revolution is achieved, they often fancy about "finishing up all the work in one battle," wondering how, if at all possible, they can achieve revolutionary victory in a single morning; and after the victory of revolution is achieved, they often hope again to change quickly their backward status in the economy without going through a long period of strenuous exertion. Our party is being surrounded precisely by this vast stratum, and those within the party who have come from a petty bourgeois background also make up a majority. The spontaneity, narrow-mindedness and fanaticism emanating from a petty bourgeoisie with small-scale production as its mainstay have a profound impact in our country. It is bound to affect our party members, cadres, and even leading personalities in decision-making positions. Precisely because of this, in a given period and in the direction of certain work, it is very easy for our party to exhibit the mentality of eagerness for quick results, and that mentality can be also accepted by most of the cadres and masses. Despite the fact that our party has repeatedly paid attention to preventing and correcting this, however, due to the emphasis in our guiding ideology put only on opposing rightist deviation and conservatism but not on opposing leftist deviation and adventurism, this mentality of being eager for quick results still occasionally occurred. If we fail to see the serious impact of this petty bourgeois mentality, it would be impossible for us to bring about a profound understanding of the leftist errors committed since the founding of our state.

Nor should we neglect to see that this economically backward big country of ours had, since achieving revolutionary victory, encountered diverse and powerful pressures both domestic and external. Imperialist prophets declared that there was no outlet at all for the China that had achieved its revolutionary victory, that the Chinese Communist Party would be unable to solve its own economic problems, and that it could only progress by depending on their aid. They carried out a blockade and embargo against us in a vain attempt to strangle the new China in the crib. Later on social-imperialism, in order to force us to submit to their baton, even took advantage of the time when our country was suffering serious natural calamities to withdraw their experts, tear up the contracts, in a vain attempt to throw a noose around our neck. In order to shatter imperialist and social-imperialist blockades and blackmail and in order to prompt a quick and conspicuous improvement in the people's life, we anxiously hoped to make a go of our economy so as to turn our country into one of material abundance, prosperous living conditions and thriving culture. In the meantime, ours had been a civilized country since antiquity which made major contributions to humanity; it became grievously stagnant only in modern times because of imperialist oppression and imperialist aggression. The people of our country urgently felt the need to change their backward condition as soon as possible and leap into the ranks of the world's powerful countries so as to make greater contributions to humanity again. Such formidable pressures arising from within and without could not help but have an impact amidst the vast ranks of our cadres, core leaders, and even the party's leading organs. They prompted us on the one hand to exert our national spirit, act independently and retain the initiative in our own hands, remain self-reliant and work hard in a down-to-earth way. But on the other hand, we also became susceptible to the mentality of being eager for quick results, attempting to rush through within a period of a few or 10-odd years the process which in developed capitalist countries had taken several decades or even several hundred years, and hoping to create within a very brief period of time

a labor productivity far higher than that under capitalism in order to prove the incomparable superiority of socialism over capitalism. We should say that the socialist system is indeed superior to the capitalist system. But the full demonstration of the superiority of this socialist system takes a longer process; it is not possible that once a socialist system is established, it can immediately create a labor productivity far higher than that under capitalism, this is the case especially for a country such as ours, whose population is large and whose foundation is weak. If one fails to understand this situation sufficiently, one can hardly avoid having impetuous feelings.

Repeated occurrences of such "leftist" errors as being too eager for quick results have also resulted from the fact that proud sentiments arose in the face of victory so that we were unable to keep our thinking clear. During the past 32 years, we have indeed achieved many important victories; we did so after our party had led the people of the whole country through vigorous endeavors. But, because we were unable to treat the results we achieved correctly, our heads often became hot and began to nurture unrealistic fancies. Just as Stalin analyzed: When a victory is achieved rather "easily" or so-called "unexpectedly," "such a victory sometimes makes people cultivate a conceited and arrogant mentality: 'We can do everything!' 'We are afraid of nothing!' Victories such as this often intoxicate people and they begin to become muddle-headed because of these victories, lose the consciousness of appraising things, lose the capability of understanding realities, and exhibit an attitude of overestimating their own power while underestimating the power of the enemies and indicate the adventurist attempt to solve 'at once' all the problems in socialist construction" ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 12, p 168). In the early 1950's, we solved correctly and smoothly a large number of tasks left by the democratic revolution, consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship, and established the leading position of the socialist economy. The national economy which had sustained many years of serious destruction rapidly recovered, and the great victory of the resist-America and aid-Korea campaign considerably raised our international status. Thereafter, we also realized socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce ahead of time, and triumphantly completed the First 5-Year Plan. In the face of these seemingly "unexpected" victories, some of our comrades became "conceited" and "arrogant" in the way that Stalin described, thinking that all problems in socialist construction could be quickly solved ahead of time. This was an important reason why great adventurism occurred several times in our economic construction.

The occurrence of such "leftist" errors as being eager for quick results also has a direct connection with the theoretical state of our party's ideology. Speaking from the point of view of the whole party, a lack of systematic theoretical study of the objective laws of socialist economy construction makes our direction of economic work sometimes deviate from the dialectical-materialistic course and violate the fundamental principle of seeking truth from facts. Although in the process of our practice not a few party members and cadres, especially certain leading comrades of the party, put forward correct ideas and views in certain aspects and carried out relevant criticisms and erroneous approaches, but because of a weakening of democratic life within the party correct views often could not be adopted or were even subject to suppression. This made it impossible for the error of being too eager for quick results to be eliminated in time.

Some comrades took the position that being eager for quick results was a kind of revolutionary enthusiasm that could hardly be blamed and hence lacked sufficient understanding of its harm. Indeed, the position of hoping to make progress in construction quickly and changing our backward condition as soon as possible was altogether understandable. Everyone of us should have the ambition to work energetically to make the country strong and to revive China. But subjective wishes can hardly substitute for objective realities; people's thinking must correspond to external laws. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago, the mobility of consciousness must be built on the feasibility of objective conditions. This requires us to have both revolutionary enthusiasm and a practical spirit; the revolutionary character of the man must unite with the scientific way of doing things. Being too eager for quick results precisely deviates from this scientific way and gets bogged down in subjective fancies; what is demonstrated is nothing but blindness. Socialism is a science; we must not treat it with emotions. What is needed is that we study it and practice it with a scientific attitude. Lenin said "To a genuine revolutionist, the greatest danger, or even the only danger, is exaggerating one revolutionary character and forgetting to apply the limits and conditions of a revolutionary approach properly and effectively." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 575) It is harmful to exaggerate one revolutionary character and to work on socialism merely on the basis of subjective enthusiasm; the upshot of such an approach may well be that the outcome contradicts one's wishes and one is unable to avoid doing something stupid against objective laws.

Some comrades feel that being fast is necessarily better than being slow, and the faster, the better. Undoubtedly no person with national self-respect and love for the people can possibly fail to hope that the pace of our forward steps be faster than they are so that our country can within as short a period of time as possible catch up with the economically developed countries, so that the livelihood of our people may be improved as fast as possible. But this fast speed must proceed from the actual situation of our country and follow objective laws, and we must adopt appropriate ways to push it in an orderly manner. Our national situation determines that the undertakings of our socialist modernization cannot be achieved within a short period of time; our strides cannot be too impatient or too great because we have taken our initial steps on the basis of a very backward economy and culture. While for 32 years our socialist economic construction has achieved duly presentable results, the condition of economic and cultural backwardness is still not fundamentally altered; while our natural resources and manpower resources are quite abundant, the level of our social productive forces still remains very low. We have a population of 1 billion, but 800 million of them are peasants, and an agriculture predicted mainly on manual labor still makes up a great proportion of the national economy. The influence of feudalistic thinking and the customary forces of small-scale production is still profound; etc., etc. All these determine the long-range and formidable nature of our tasks in building our country into a modern socialist power, and also determine the proposition that in resorting to the construction of our modernization we can only realize it orderly by stages. After the 3D Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has proceeded to formulate strategies, tactics and policies for the development of our modern enterprises precisely by profoundly analyzing the advantageous and disadvantageous aspects of our national situation. Only this kind of progress, made by seeking truth from facts and in a solid manner, can achieve real speed. Doing things in too much of a hurry, like "helping the saplings to grow by pulling them up," can only reap the opposite. The saying "Haste makes waste" tells this rationale.

Influenced by this mentality of being eager for quick results, some comrades only think of going forward and feel reluctant to retreat; they sense discouragement in "readjustment," "compression," and "ample retreat." It should be pointed out that the principle of carrying out further readjustment in our economy is an important decision formulated in accordance with our national situation after our party profoundly recognized the subjective error of being too eager for quick results and cast off the long standing "leftist" ideological fetters. Readjustment is not just retreat; it includes retreat and also advancement. In order to readjust the seriously dislocated proportionate relations of our economy, we must indeed execute a retreat, and an ample retreat at that. This kind of retreat is not something bad. The principles of "readjustment, consolidation, strengthening, and improvement" carried out in our national economy in the early 1960's represented none other than a type of retreat. This kind of retreat enabled our national economy to cast off the difficulties resulting from "blind command," "communist wind," etc. Our further readjustment in the economy this time is designed so that our national economy can retreat from an abnormal form of development to a more rational structure, to make our production relations, including certain forms of production organization, more properly adapted to the development of productive forces, and to make the scale of economic construction correspond to the adequacy of our financial and material resources. This kind of retreat is meant to lead to more solid advancement. Therefore, in this conscious and healthy readjustment, we should be full of confidence and should not harbor any negative or pessimistic sentiments. Preliminary results of practice have also proved that the decision on the part of the Party Central Committee has been correct. Because the scale of capital construction was kept under control, the production of products relevant to consumption and market needs was energetically grasped, and commercial enterprises and service enterprises were given attention and development, therefore the market was made prosperous, necessities for the daily life of the masses of the people were gradually satisfied, and new outlets for solving urban employment were also found. In the countryside, because diverse forms of a production responsibility system were put into effect, the peasants' enthusiasm was further mobilized, agricultural production gained fairly big development, and the socialist front in the countryside thus also became further consolidated. This shows that, because we have carried out the principle of further readjustment, our strides are being made more steadily; looked from the overall situation, our progress is not being slowed down but becoming faster and more solid than before.

Adhering to seeking truth from facts and opposing over eagerness for quick results can absolutely not be misunderstood as suggesting that our work can be undertaken in a halting, loose manner. It is meant to require us to work more urgently and more solidly. Development of the enterprises of socialist construction is determined not only by whether or not the line and methods involved are correct but also by whether or not we can work in a solid manner. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The establishment of the socialist system opens up a path leading to the ideal realm for us, but realization of that ideal realm still depends on our diligent work." Realization of socialist modernization depends on our hard exertion; the amelioration and improvement of our material and cultural life likewise requires us to pay with our diligent labor. It is an unrealistic illusion to hope to realize high-speed development without having to spend any great effort but only by following a shortcut. Looked at from a given time and from a given place, the results of working in a down-to-earth way may not seem so conspicuous and not so spectacular or high-sounding and attractive as "high targets" and "large-scale work and fast operations." But if everybody

works this way and the custom can take shape within the whole party and the whole society, we should be able to continue to advance with each of our steps leaving a footprint, to continue to tap our potential, and provide more and better products for the people's material and spiritual life on the basis of existing material and financial resources. Just as Lenin repeatedly stressed, in the process of socialist construction, we must never look down upon a single bit or drop of work, never despise daily, ordinary "minor things." Only by quietly immersing ourselves in hard work, working in a down-to-earth manner, plus with advanced technology and management knowledge, can we achieve a high speed in economic development. This is our own experience of the past 30-odd years and also the experience of certain countries of the world that developed relatively rapidly during certain periods of time.

In order to thoroughly correct the "leftist" error of being too eager for quick results, the most important thing to do is to raise the Marxist level of the whole party. During the period of the democratic revolution, on account of being too eager for quick results our party committed "leftist" errors several times. Comrade Mao Zedong wrote works like "Strategic Problems of the Chinese Revolutionary War" and "On Practice" and "On Contradictions" in order to sum up the lessons from these "leftist" errors theoretically and practically. Through the Yan'an rectification movements, the whole party seriously sorted out the erroneous guiding ideology and made ideological and theoretical preparations for achieving final victory in the democratic revolution and for turning from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. Through 32 years of practice, we have accumulated experience and lessons in both the positive and negative aspects of socialist revolution and construction today; we should seriously sum them up and take them as a kind of precious teaching material in our practical study of Marxism. Central leading comrades recently pointed out, we must promote study, we must study conscientiously Marxism-Leninism, study the works of Comrade Mao Zedong, especially Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works. By seriously mastering the philosophical thought of Marxism-Leninism and doing things according to dialectical materialism, we should be able to avoid the subjectivist error of being too eager for quick results, and our socialist enterprises will be bound to make steady, rapid progress.

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PARTY AND STATE

RESOLUTION ON HISTORICAL ISSUES STUDIED IN FUJIAN

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "Standing Committee of Fujian Provincial Party Committee Carefully Studies 'Resolution'"]

[Text] For the last few days, the standing committee of the Fujian provincial party committee and the assistant provincial governor conscientiously studied the bulletin of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the "Resolution on a Number of Historical Issues of the Party since the Founding of the Nation" and Comrade Hu Yaobang's important speech of "1 July" and made arrangements for the studies of the cadres and masses throughout the province.

After the successful closing of the 6th Plenary Session, the standing committee of the provincial party committee and the assistant provincial governor, beginning on 30 June, studied together daily for half a day. Concentrating on the "Resolution," they combined it with learning the bulletin and Comrade Hu Yaobang's "1 July" speech. They read the 38 articles of the 8 parts of the "Resolution" one by one, grasped them carefully, and began to discuss them. All felt that the "Resolution" is well written, compatible with the historical facts, and fully expressing the feelings of the party and the people, and that it is a shining Marxist document. They found that its exposition of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position and his thinking is scientific and fair. This is a key issue. If the entire party and the people of the entire country can reach a unanimous understanding on this fundamental issue linked with China's political situation and the future of the revolution, they will adhere more successfully to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in the four modernization construction. The "Resolution's" summary of our party's basic experiences and lessons since the founding of the nation is also matter-of-fact and further points out clearly the correct path for the socialist modernization construction compatible with our national conditions. It possesses a momentous significance in reaching a common understanding, uniting as one and looking forward, and pursuing the four modernizations with one heart and one mind.

The standing committee of the provincial party committee made arrangements for studying by the cadres and masses throughout the province. It asks that the party committees of the various levels make the study of the "Resolution" one of the central tasks in the second half of the year and handle it conscientiously. The focal point is the leading cadres of the various levels, especially those of the county level and above. They should pursue short-term studies in party or cadre schools, attend short-term study classes operated in the organs, or study in other suitable centralized forms. They will be organized into groups for rotational studies, and the standing committee members will also take turns to participate in the study classes, learning together with the others. The provincial and prefectural party schools must organize leading propaganda and theoretical cadres' study classes and train guidance and propaganda strengths. While grasping the studies of the leading cadres of the county level and above, they must also give attention to the broad cadres, and the broad cadres and party members in organs, industries and schools must also participate in the study of the "Resolution." For the months of July, August and September, three half-days per week must be devoted to studying. The qualified units may hold small centralized study classes for rotational studies in groups. The work of propagandizing and explaining the "Resolution" in schools, rural areas, industrial and mining enterprises and residential neighborhoods must be performed, helping the masses understand the basic spirit of the "Resolution."

6080

CSO: 4005/766

DISTINCTION BETWEEN HUMAN NATURE, CLASS NATURE MADE

Beijing DUSHU [READING] in Chinese No 2, 10 Feb 81 pp 2-9

[Article by Li Yihong [2621 0110 3163]: "The Sun of Man Is Bound to Rise"]

[Test] The socialist modernization, an economic revolution, will inevitably cause profound changes in the superstructure and ideology, thereby transforming the image of the entire Chinese society. Everything which once deprived the laborers of the conditions for survival will further disintegrate in this great practice. All our concepts of the past will undergo a severe test.

Human nature and humanitarianism were once a forbidden area. However, once the gates sealed by the deities are pushed open by practice, a tremendous energy will be released, and the rich spiritual resources will shine with a brilliant splendor. From the material life to the spiritual life, the sound and light of tearing down the rotten and the decayed will startle the deaf and dazzle the blind in all realms of society, celebrating the beginning of a new historical era. It will be a rediscovery of man—a rediscovery of man under the new historical conditions!

"Do you wish to advocate human nature? Do you wish to advocate humanitarianism?"

Yes, I wish to advocate human nature; I wish to advocate humanitarianism. For the Chinese people living in the socialist era, if one does not advocate human nature, does it mean that one should advocate divine or animal nature? If one does not advocate humanitarianism, does it mean that one should advocate feudal fascism?

In the new historical era, we should restore the Marxist position of man and the essence of the true Marxist humanitarianism. We should solemnly point out that the theory of human nature is not the exclusive property of the "landowner bourgeoisie;" the creator of the proletarian revolutionary theory also had his own theory of human nature. Built on the historical materialist foundation, the Marxist theory of human nature is a science. According to the viewpoint of Marx and Engels, the relationship between man and nature, the social relations among men, and man's consciousness and language all emerged because of

man's needs. In other words, people need to survive; therefore, they need production, contact, consciousness and language, which are all determined by human nature, i.e., the inherent distinction between man and other living beings. Human nature refers to the needs determined by man's physical structure and the principal conditions (functions) provided by such physical structure to satisfy the needs. As man's physical structure is generally identical, mankind has common human needs founded on the common physiological composition and essential strengths--material and spiritual strengths, common sensations, understandings, activities, creative patterns, psychology, feelings, aesthetic laws, etc. All these, as a whole, can be called the contents of "human nature," "natural instincts of mankind" and "man's general inherent qualities." Without such human nature, there will be no human history. Whoever refusing to recognize such objectively existing, primary and material human nature is not a historical materialist. Such natural qualities and endowments of man developed with the development of the practice of social life, continuously changing in history and inevitably restricted by the class relations in a class society. However, the natural qualities and endowments of man, in themselves, have no class nature. It is what is called "supra-class human nature" and, in a relative sense, "constant human nature" (relative because there was prehistorical history and because mankind will vanish). However, as long as mankind exists, human nature will only develop, not die out, in history (in any stage of development of the history of mankind).

Marx and Engels profoundly expounded the issue that "both the propertied class and the proletariat are the self-alienation of man," scientifically analyzed the evolution of human nature in the development of history and pointed out that, in the capitalist productive pattern, whether a person becomes a capitalist or a proletarian is determined by the fixed social relations independent of man's will. One cannot search for the source of the bourgeois mentality of profit-before-everything in the "natural instincts" of the property owners. By the same token, nor is the proletariat the liberator of mankind created by Heaven. What determines its historical mission is its social position. The class nature is absolutely not intrinsic in human nature, but emerges inevitably in a certain stage of social development. In a class society, the restriction of individuality by social relations and the subordination of the individual to the class are the absence of human freedom. It is, at the same time, merely an inevitable manifestation of a specific stage of social development. Furthermore, according to the objective laws of social development, such phenomenon will inevitably be wiped out by the proletariat. The historical mission of the proletariat is to wipe out all living conditions in modern times which are against human nature, eliminate the classes and the private ownership system, seek the liberation of all mankind and realize communism, which is the "restoration of man." Marx said: "Communism is the active sublation of private property, viz., man's self-alienation; therefore, it is the true occupancy of the essence of man through man and for man. Thus, it is a restoration of man himself and the social (human) man. Complete and conscious, such restoration preserves all the riches developed in the past." The class analysis of man is a component of the Marxist theory of human nature. In the analysis, Marx and Engels reached a scientific conclusion, found the force to carry out the liberation of man, of human nature and of mankind and pointed out a bright vista.

Yet we have, for several decades, failed to intensively study the Marxist theory of human nature and accomplished nothing in building and developing it. The long existing controversies on the following viewpoints and interpretations require further exploration.

The first viewpoint is that human nature naturally exists, but there is only concrete human nature, not abstract human nature.

The second viewpoint is that, in a class society, there is only human nature bearing a class nature, but no supra-class human nature.

To stress the fact that human nature bears a class nature in the violent class struggles and cruel revolutionary wars is correct in theory and necessary in practice. In a class society, it is impossible for human nature to be free of the class nature. As one of the attributes of the human society, the class nature is a relatively essential attributes differentiating among men. Apart from the class analysis, the pursuit of the proletarian revolution will be impossible.

The statement that "human nature naturally exists" is correct in all realms in the development of the human society, i.e., whether in the proletarian, or in the class, society. However, the sphere of application is not given here.

The said statement is followed by a qualification, viz., "but there is only concrete human nature, not abstract human nature." On the one hand, in terms of a real man, human nature is always concrete, not abstract. On the other hand, the common human nature residing in all men can be abstracted by cogitation; therefore, human nature abstracted by means of scientific cogitation does exist. Its concreteness does not rule out the existence of the common human nature. It will be wrong to negate such common human nature with the concrete human nature.

The second viewpoint is another qualification, viz., "in a class society, there is only human nature bearing a class nature, but no supra-class human nature." That there is a correct meaning in this statement has been discussed above, but there can also be another meaning: In a class society, there is no human nature, but only concrete class nature. This interpretation comes from the statement that there is "no supra-class human nature." Since human nature "bears" a class nature, human nature and class nature, as the subject and the object, are not one and the same. In other words, besides the class nature, there is still human nature. Or, one may say that non-class or supra-class content is found in human nature. The statement that there is "no supra-class human nature" completely negates this part of human nature. Thus, the class nature engulfs human nature and replaces it. The often heard statement that "there is no supra-class human nature" refers to the fact that human nature in a class society inevitably bears a class nature, but it absolutely does not deny the objective existence of human nature. However, the interpretation given above negates the existence of human nature.

The wrong meaning of the second viewpoint inadvertently prescribes the sphere of application for the first viewpoint, viz., human nature exists only in a

classless society, not in a class society. Thus, once concretized and placed in a class society, the "naturally existing" human nature becomes nonexistent.

Of course, it is inaccurate to look at the relationship between human nature and class nature by adding one part of the content to the other part. The interpretation by means of the relationship between its commonality and individuality advanced by some comrades also seems very farfetched. As the commonality resides in the individuality, there can be no commonality without individuality, yet we absolutely cannot say that there is no human nature without class nature; we can only say that without the individuality of the individuals, there can be no commonality, while the individuality of the individuals does not equal to the class nature. If we wish to discuss the relationship between commonality and individuality, we can only refer to the relationship between human nature (commonality) and the human nature (individuality) bearing a class attribute in a specific development stage of history. The class nature is absolutely not the nature of man, but human nature must inevitably change its form in a class society. The permeation of the class nature into human nature creates the alienation of human nature, and the identity of the two sometimes reaches an alarming degree. Meanwhile, they are also in a position of contradiction and opposition, and the extent which can be reached by such opposition and conflict is also soul-stirring. At different times, in different places, under different conditions and in different individuals, such state of opposite unity between human nature and class nature presents an extremely complex picture.

Half a step beyond truth is error. If we derive, from the above viewpoints, the theory of the class nature which negates human nature, it will be entirely contrary to the human nature and class theories of Marxism and completely incompatible with the reality of the life of mankind. Affirmation of divine nature necessitates negation of human nature. That is why the deifiers can wantonly trample on human nature and take all the needs, strengths and superior qualities belonging to man to offer to the deities. That is why these words can actually become the theoretical basis for the modern deification movement! If we extend it to "our advocacy of the proletarian human nature," then such "human nature" actually becomes a synonym of "class nature." True, the representatives of the landowner bourgeoisie, out of their class prejudice, advocate the "human nature of the bourgeoisie." But on this issue, we must not "retaliate with the same measure." Whether with Marx and Engels, or in real life under capitalist control, the proletariat is not an incarnation of fine human nature, but the embodiment of "poverty" and "inhuman nature," and of "man losing himself," and must be eliminated. The demand of the proletariat to "angrily oppose the phenomena in violation of human nature," and thereby eliminating itself, is a demand of true human nature. The demand of the proletariat and that of human nature are identical, and only the proletariat can uphold such identity to the final end. The elimination of the proletariat is the elimination of the proletarian class nature. Powerful human demands and stirring human beauty are often embodied in the proletariat and among the masses. These should be advocated, and they will never vanish. However, class nature, which is the manifestation of the alienation of human nature, will definitely vanish.

Based on the theory of the class nature which negates human nature, Yao Wenyuan [1202 2429 0337] declared that the proletariat will not vanish with the elimination of classes, and nor will its class nature; that, not only not vanishing, but [its class nature] will inflate and expand, to be acquired by all mankind by means of "ideological reform;" that such "proletarian human nature" will become "the foundation of the common human nature of all mankind." But according to Marx and Engels, communism is "the restoration of man;" therefore, the foundation of common human nature in the future cannot be the class nature of any class; it can only be the human nature discarded by Yao Wenyuan. In addition, the common human nature in the future will preserve all the riches of human nature in the long historical development, and it will be all-embracing, conscious, and rich and colorful. Same as "recognizing" the Marxist humanitarianism while refusing to recognize the Marxist theory on human nature, to say that the foundation of the common human nature is the class nature cannot be considered scientific. According to Yao Wenyuan, humanitarianism and the common human nature can be built on the theory of the class nature which negates human nature. Such scientific contradiction precisely exposes his hypocrisy.

The theory that there is only class nature but no human nature does not make sense, because even in a class society, it is impossible for there to be superhuman class nature. Class nature is always an attribute given to man by specific class relations, and such attribute will vanish with the elimination of the class, while the disappearance of class nature is not the disappearance of human nature. On the contrary, it is the beginning of human freedom. If human nature vanishes in a class society, then where does the human nature of communism come from?

Such theory of superhuman class nature without the foundation of living and real human nature is the lineation and deification of class nature and constitutes idealism and metaphysics. It thereby simplifies life with all its complexities and the richness of human nature. Furthermore, to eliminate such class nature, it will be necessary to eliminate the physical existence of man; to preserve such class nature, it will be necessary to maintain the class society. Whichever way, history cannot be pushed toward socialism. In addition, as such class nature is a priori and predestined, it negates all the possibilities and necessities for the reform of human nature. In spite of the "long tempering in labor and the steeling in the class struggle" as mentioned by Yao Wenyuan, some people will never acquire the supernatural "proletarian human nature," i.e., the proletarian class nature, while others, regarding themselves proletarians, have no need at all to reform themselves. Therefore, such "class nature" thereby loses its objective yardstick.

Marx and Engels consistently regarded socialism as the elementary stage of communism. Neither a class society in its pure sense, nor a proletarian society in its pure sense, it is the transitional stage between the former and the latter and the historical process of the gradual diminution of the class struggle and of the class nature until their final disappearance, which is the historical process of the gradual liberation of human nature until freedom.

Under the socialist system, there can no longer be "endless happiness in struggling against people," because basically speaking, socialism is becoming more and more not a struggle against people, but a struggle to reform people and to guide people to reform the environment, thereby reforming themselves in the practice; therefore, it is the struggle for people. Replacing the socialist modernization construction with "the class struggle as the key link" and substituting class nature for human nature are completely contrary to the essence of the socialist humanitarianism and constitute a downright anti-socialist theory. Therefore, such theory of class nature negating human nature is, in theory, untenable and in practice, a simplification in a certain period and extremely dangerous in another period. Practice has always proved that, by deviating from the socialist humanitarianism, there is no socialism; by abandoning the socialist humanitarianism, the so-called "socialism" can only be modern superstition and a feudal fascist dictatorship.

Both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat declare that their own liberation is the liberation of all mankind. Engels affirmed the declaration of the French bourgeoisie in 1789, in terms of feudalism at that time, as "an irrefutable historical truth," while also criticizing it by saying that "it will soon turn into a purely self-satisfying empty phrase and vanish in the flames of the revolutionary struggle." Whether "a self-satisfying empty phrase" or a historical practice and historical reality is the fundamental distinction between the bourgeois humanitarianism and the Marxist humanitarianism. Yet the raging flames of our "Great Cultural Revolution" reduced the Marxist humanitarianism to ashes! By "recognizing" the "proletarian humanitarianism," Yao Wenyuan's whole body was splashed with blood!

The goal of the socialist modernization is for people--for their happiness. We must, in the socialist modernization, build an environment relatively compatible with human nature and restore the dignity of the socialist human nature. Such socialist human nature is the inevitable destination of the historical development of human nature; it is a new model preserving all the riches of its historical development. It will neither exploit others nor tolerate exploitation by others. It asks for development in the human relations of socialist equality and cooperation, satisfies its own needs by fully developing its own physical and spiritual abilities and enhances the happiness of society. Thus, socialism is the start of "the restoration of man," and the socialist people are "the first ancestors of a new mankind."

Under the private ownership system, any need entails forced sacrifice. With the increase in needs, "the kingdom of alien essence fettering people also grows." Yet under the socialist system, the needs of human nature constitute a great motive force. The satisfaction of one need leads to another need, and the continuously increasing needs pose higher goals of struggle. The continuous development from the material to the spiritual, from low grade to high grade, and from poverty to wealth will basically cure our traditional paralysis of desire, continuously replenishing, enriching and developing human nature and creating a new model socialist human nature. Marx pointed out: "We have already seen the significance of the /richness/ of man's needs, viz., a /new productive pattern/ and a new productive /object/, under the socialist system. It is the new manifestation of /man's/ essential strength and the replenishment

of /man's/ existence." To establish the socialist human nature, we must not fear human needs; we must emancipate human needs and struggle for their enrichment. The process of the socialist modernization construction is the process of the restoration of human nature, of the growth of the valuable socialist human nature, and of the victory of the socialist humanitarianism. I believe that the modernization contrary thereto cannot be realized; even if realized, it will not be a socialist modernization.

History has made a circle in the past 30 years. However, after undergoing the process of the negation of a negation, we have not returned to the original spot, but stand at a higher starting point. A new life begins here. We once endlessly offered our reverence, ardent love, trust and adoration to deity. Now is the time to return them to man. The value of the socialist life and the richness and nobility of the socialist human nature will make people continuously reassess and elevate the level of their pursuit, complete the lofty mission of the socialist modernization of the motherland and create hundreds of millions of new socialist people.

Marx said: "The criticism of religion freed people from fantasy and enabled them, as rational beings free of fantasy, to think, act and build their own reality and to revolve around the sun of themselves and their reality. Religion is only the sun of fantasy and, before people begin to revolve around themselves, it will always revolve around people."

The sun of deity has set; the sun of man is bound to rise. The sun of deity relies on man to rise, but the sun of man needs no divine power. The creation of this truly magnificent sun depends entirely on ourselves. Let us cast off fantasy and take action, and plunge into the socialist modernization construction with a true enthusiasm! Sunlight will shine on our future, and a new formation of migrating geese will

Write the word "MAN" in large script

Across the vast ten thousand-li sky! (He Jingzhi [6320 2417
0037], "Song of Lei
Feng [7191 6912]")

6080

CSO: 4005/758

PARTY AND STATE

PERSONALITY CULT AROUND DENG NOTED

OW291545 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 28 Jul 81

[Text] As seen from reports submitted by the Jinan PLA units, Guangzhou PLA units and Nanjing PLA units, the enthusiasm of commanders and fighters, particularly of cadres at and above the regimental level, in studying and discussing the resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is something that is unprecedented in the past 20 years. However, in the course of study, an error has been made. When speaking, many people always use Comrade Deng Xiaoping's words and deeds as the yardstick in appraising the merits and demerits, the rights and wrongs, of Mao Zedong, Hua Guofeng and other comrades. They also extol Comrade Deng Xiaoping's wisdom and correctness. This is, in fact, creating a new personality cult while criticizing the personality cult of the past.

The major cause of the above-mentioned error is that in transmitting and interpreting the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, some central leaders intentionally and repeatedly stress and exaggerate Comrade Deng Xiaoping's personal role and contributions.

The resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in itself violates the principles of seeking truth from facts and of not publicizing any individual leader laid down by the 3d plenary session. Now Comrade Deng Xiaoping is being spoken of even more highly than Premier Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Chen Yun. This is obviously improper.

Some reports also greatly played up Comrade Deng Xiaoping's talk at the working conference of the party Central Committee, saying that his remarks are of great significance. It was also said that from 1958 to 1962, when the whole country faced difficulties, only Deng Xiaoping put forward correct views despite the erroneous policies at the time; that during the 10 calamitous years, when he was in charge of State Council work, he again adopted a series of correct policies, thus laying the political and ideological basis for the downfall of the gang of four; and so on and so forth.

Needless to say, this kind of report, made for the specific purpose of giving prominence to the present leaders, cannot in the least help people correctly understand the issues of the past and the resolution of the plenary session of the party Central Committee on questions of the past.

To be sure, we do not deny the role of individuals in history. However, we should appraise their role in a realistic way. It is known by many middle-aged and older comrades that before the "cultural revolution," as general secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping (never) put forward correct opinions of his own or of others. He never resisted the extremely wrong line as did Peng Dehuai, Zhang Wentian, Huang Kecheng, Zhou Xiaozhou, Liu Shaoqi, He Long, Zhu De, Tao Zhu and other comrades. Instead, he actually implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's series of erroneous principles and policies in the party. It was because of this that Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Tao Zhu and other comrades were persecuted to death in the "cultural revolution." By contrast, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was designated by Chairman Mao Zedong to take charge of the work of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council.

It is obvious then that the error that has taken place in the course of studying the resolution of the 6th plenary session and the failure to achieve the expected results are directly related to certain contents in the resolution and the exaggerated statements made by certain leaders.

C80: 4005/779

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' ON 'FABRICATED' LIN BIAO CASE

OW190516 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] The criticism against Comrade Hua Guofeng in the resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is in the main correct. His mistakes of stalling and obstructing the redressing of the unjust, fake and erroneous historical cases, including the cases concerning the Tiananmen incident and Liu Shaoqi, were very serious. But some people, while denouncing Hua's mistakes, are doing all they can today to obstruct a reinvestigation of the unresolved questions in our army and are also faking new cases. Such acts are even more serious than Comrade Hua Guofeng's mistakes.

As far as our army is concerned, the Lin Biao case fabricated by the "gang of four" is undoubtedly the most important historical case which remains unresolved. Let us look back for one moment: ever since the September 13 incident, the number of cadres at the secondary and upper echelons who have been implicated and victimized has already exceeded 35,000. However, by raising new issues out of the Lin Biao concocted by the "gang of four," some people today are still fabricating new cases in order to eliminate people they do not like, thus victimizing a large number of innocent cadres in the military. Not so long ago, for example, 11 cadres at the secondary and upper echelons were given 4- to 14-year imprisonment terms for allegedly having participated in "Lin Biao's counterrevolutionary conspiracy." It is crystal clear now that all accusations about their having collaborated with the so-called "Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique" are entirely groundless. Historical facts have eloquently proved that there was simply no such thing as a "Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique," nor was there a "counterrevolutionary conspiracy of Lin Biao." The historical fact is: When the "gang of four" was wildly carrying out its white terror to usurp party and state power, it was the military and the broad masses of military cadres throughout the country who boycotted the "gang of four" feudal fascist dictatorship and stopped the rebels' beatings, smashing, robbings, burnings, killings, (?)injuries) and other outrages.

It should be pointed out, in particular, that the resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has clearly reaffirmed that our army's actions during the cultural revolution were correct, because they safeguarded the interests of the state and the people. This conforms to facts. In those

days the "gang of four" regarded the military as the biggest obstacle hindering its seizure of state power, and therefore it utterly detested our military cadres, particularly the ranking leading cadres, and did all it could to persecute them. Particularly worth recalling is: during the Luhan conference held in August and September in 1970, leaders of our army--Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo again exposed and criticized the "gang of four" for its many crimes that brought calamity to the country and the people. But owing to Chairman Mao's protection, Jiang Qing and her cohorts were not condemned.

Later, the "gang of four" intensified its counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities, and Lin Biao and other leaders of our army became its primary targets. The "gang of four" first collaborated with Kang Sheng to discredit Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng and other military leaders in front of Chairman Mao by concocting the "outlines of Project '571'" and by fabricating the charges that they had planned a "counterrevolutionary coup d'etat" and "conspired to assassinate Chairman Mao." Shortly afterward, it instructed its accomplices to assassinate Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Lin Liguo and the working personnel who were close to them. It then mystified the story deliberately and directed the farce about Lin Biao's flight to a foreign country. The fact was: The "gang of four" viciously used the September 13 incident to eliminate the broad masses of military cadres and military leaders it disliked. This is what the well-known Lin Biao case is all about.

Why then, a decade later today, do some people still use the fake case concocted by the "gang of four" to continue to persecute and suppress military cadres? Ample proof indicates that, although that certain man in the party Central Committee is holding real party and political power and although he holds the high position of being the chairman of the military commission, it is still difficult for him to fully control the military, particularly the cadres at the secondary and upper echelons. Therefore, he has to take advantage of the fabricated Lin Biao case to (eliminate), rebuff, persecute and suppress the military cadres and to purge the military leaders he dislikes so as to consolidate his personal control over the military.

CSO: 4005/779

PARTY AND STATE

REFERENCE MATERIAL ON FAMOUS REVOLUTIONARY FIGURES

HK270444 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 81 p 3

[Reference material for study: "Famous Figures Who Made Major Contributions to the Cause of the Chinese People's Revolution"]

[Text] Beijing, 10 Jul (XINHUA)--XINHUA Editor's Note: BEIJING RIBAO in 10 July carries on page 3 a reference material for study entitled "Famous Figures Who Made Major Contributions to the Cause of the Chinese People's Revolution" and appends an editor's note. The editor's note [BEIJING RIBAO's]: In his speech at the rally celebrating the 60th anniversary of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang deeply cherished the memory of many famous figures who made major contributions to the cause of the Chinese people's revolution. Quite a few readers do not have a good knowledge of the life stories of many figures among them and hope that some introduction can be given in the press. To facilitate our study, we now introduce brief biographies of famous figures such as Cai Hesen mentioned in the speech, as follows: (We will not introduce those figures we are quite familiar with, such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Ren Bishi, Dong Bihu, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi, Luo Ronghuan, Lin Biao, Li Fuchun, Wang Jiaxiang, Zhang Wentian, Tao Zhu, Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai, Soong Ching Ling, Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and (Mao Dun).

Prominent Leaders Shortly Before and After the Founding of the Party

Cai Hesen (1895-1931): A native of Xiangxiang (now belonging to Shuangfeng), Hunan Province, Cai Hesen founded in his early years the Xin Min Xue Hui (New People's Study Society) and started the publication XIANGJIANG PINGLUN together with Mao Zedong. After the May 4 Movement he took his family to France for a work-study program. In 1921 in France he organized the Chinese socialist youth league and returned to the country in the winter of the same year. He was elected a member of the second to the sixth CCP Central Committees. After 1922 he edited XIANG DAO weekly, organ of the CCP Central Committee. In 1925 he led the 30 May movement and attended the sixth enlarged meeting of the fifth executive committee of the Comintern in the same year. In 1927 he returned to the country, was elected a member of the Political Bureau after the fifth national CCP congress and served as secretary of the north China bureau after the "7 August" conference. He waged resolute struggles against the rightist capitulationism of Chen Duxiu. He was reelected a member of the Political Bureau after the

sixth national CCP congress. In the summer of 1931 he was arrested in Hong Kong by the British imperialists and, extradited later to Guangzhou, was killed by the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Xiang Jingyu (1895-1928): A native of Xupu, Hunan Province, she was one of the famous leaders of the women's movement in the early period of our party. In 1918 she joined the Xin Min Xue Hui organized and led by Mao Zedong. In 1919 she went to France for a work-study program and, after her return to the country in 1922, joined the CCP in the same year. She was elected a member of the second to the sixth CCP Central Committees and served as head of the women's work department of the CCP Central Committee. She led the strikes in the Shanghai silk mill and the tobacco plant. In 1925 she went to Moscow to study at the Communist University of the toilers of the East and, after her return to the country in April 1927, worked successively in the Wuhan Federation of Trade Unions, the Propaganda Department of the Hankou CCP Committee and the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee, editing a journal entitled CHANGJIANG. In 1928 she was arrested at the French concession in Hankou and, after waging a tenacious struggle against the enemies, died a martyr's death on 30 April.

Deng Zhongxia (1894-1933): A native of Yizhang, Hunan Province, Deng Zhongxia was one of the leaders of the labor movement in the early period of our party. He joined a communist group in Beijing in 1920 and served as director of the secretariat of the Chinese labor unions in 1922. He led the general strike of railway workers in Changxindian, the general strike of workers in the Kailan coalmines and the general strike of workers on the Beijing-Hankou railway. In 1925 he led the February general strike of workers in the Japanese-owned textile mills, and the Guangzhou-Hong Kong strike. He was elected a member of the second and fifth CCP Central Committees and alternate member of third and sixth CCP Central Committees. He waged resolute struggle against Chen Duxiu's rightist capitulationism and was elected an alternate member of the provisional Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee after the "7 August" conference. Later he served as secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee and Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee. In 1928 he was elected an executive member at the fourth congress of the red labor international. From 1930 he served as political commissar of the Second Army Group of the Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army. In 1933 he was made secretary of the leading group of the Chinese revolutionary mutual aid association. He was arrested in Shanghai in May and was murdered in Yuhuatai, Nanjing, in October. His posthumously published work was "A Short History of the Chinese Labor Movement."

Su Zhaozheng (1885-1929): A native of Xiangshan (now Zhongshan), Guangdong Province, Su Zhaozheng was one of the famous leaders of the labor movement in the early period of our party. In January 1922 he led the Hong Kong seamen's strike. In 1925 he joined the Chinese Communist Party. He was elected to the executive committee of the All-China Federation of Labor at the second national labor congress. In the same year he led the Guangzhou-Hong Kong strike, served as chairman of the strike committee, and organized and mobilized over 100,000 workers in Hong Kong to go to Guangzhou to fight against imperialism and for the consolidation of the Guangdong revolutionary base area. In 1926 he was elected chairman of the All-China Federation of Labor at the third national

labor congress. He was elected an alternate member of the Political Bureau at the fifth national CCP congress; he became director of the labor department of the nationalist government in Wuhan. He was elected member of the provisional Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee after the "7 August" conference. During the Guangzhou uprising in December 1927, he served as chairman of the Guangzhou workers' and peasants democratic government. In 1928 he went to Moscow to attend the fourth Profintern congress and the sixth Comintern congress, and was elected to their executive committees. He was elected member of the Political Bureau after the sixth national CCP congress. In January 1929 he returned to the country, and on 20 February he died of illness.

Peng Pai (1896-1929): A native of Haifeng, Guangdong Province, Peng Pai was the earliest leader of the peasants' movement of our party. In 1921 he joined the Chinese Communist Party. In July 1922 he founded in Chishan, Haifeng County the first peasant association in the country. In January 1923 he was elected chairman of the Haifeng peasants' association. In the same year he started the Guangdong institute of the peasant movement and was made member of the Guangdong-Guangxi Regional CCP Committee. In May 1925 he was elected vice chairman of the Guangdong provincial peasants' association. In 1927 he took part in the Nanchang uprising and was made a member of the CCP front committee. After the failure of the Nanchang uprising, he led the third armed uprising in Hai-lu-feng, founded the Hai-lu-feng soviet of which he was chairman, and became secretary of the Dongjiang special committee of the CCP. In 1928 he served as secretary of the peasants' committee of the CCP Central Committee and concurrently secretary of the Military Commission of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee. He was elected to the Central Committee at the fifth and sixth national CCP congresses, was made a member of the provisional Political Bureau and member of the Political Bureau at the sixth national CCP congress. He was arrested in Shanghai on 24 August 1929 and was killed later by the Kuomintang in Longhua. His posthumously-published work was "The Peasants' Movement in Hai-lu-feng."

Chen Yannian (1898-1927): A native of Huaining, Anhui Province, and the eldest son of Chen Duxiu, Chen Yannian joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1922. In 1924 he served as secretary of the Guangdong-Guangxi Regional CCP Committee. In April 1927 he was elected member of the Central Committee and alternate member of the Political Bureau at the Fifth National CCP Congress. After this he served as secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee. In June 1927 he was arrested and died a martyr's death in Longhua in July.

Yun Daiying (1895-1931): A native of Wujin, Jiangsu Province, Yun Daiying joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. In 1923 he served as head of the propaganda department of the CYL Central Committee and editor in chief of ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN (CHINA YOUTH). In 1926 he served as chief political instructor at the Huangpu Military Academy and taught at the Guangdong Institute of the Peasant Movement. In 1927 he was elected a member of the Central Committee at the Fifth National CCP Congress. After the failure of the first revolutionary civil war, he joined the Nanchang uprising of 1 August and the Guangzhou uprising. In July 1928 he was made secretary-general of the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee. In 1930 he served as secretary of the East Shanghai Action Committee in Shanghai. In April 1931 he was murdered by the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Zhao Shiyun (1901-1927): A native of Youyang, Sichuan Province, Zhao Shiyun joined the communist group residing in France in 1921 and, together with Zhou Enlai and others, founded the Chinese Socialist Youth League in the same year. In 1922 when the European general branch of the CCP was formed, he served as secretary of the French group of the CCP. After his return to China in 1924, he served successively as secretary of the Beijing area committee of the CCP and head of the propaganda department of the North China Regional CCP Committee. In 1926 he was made head of the organization department of the Jiangsu-Zhejiang Regional CCP Committee and concurrently secretary of the party leading group within the Shanghai General Labor Union. He later served as second secretary of the Jiangsu-Zhejiang Regional CCP Committee and took part in leading the three armed uprisings of the Shanghai workers. In 1927 he was elected a member of the Central Committee at the Fifth National CCP Congress and was made acting secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee. In July 1927 he was murdered by the Kuomintang reactionaries in Shanghai.

Zhang Tailei (1899-1927): A native of Changshou, Jiangsu Province, Zhang Tailei joined a communist group in 1920. In 1925 he was elected alternate member of the Central Committee at the Fourth National CCP Congress, and in the same year was elected to the National CYL Congress and served as a member of the Standing Committee and propaganda head of the Guangdong-Guangxi Regional CCP Committee. In April 1927 he was elected a member of the Central Committee at the Fifth National CCP Congress and, attending the "7 August" conference, was elected alternate member of the provisional Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. In October of the same year he presided over the work of the South China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee and served as secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee, and in December laid down his life while leading the Guangzhou uprising.

Li Lisan (1899-1967): A native of Fengling, Hunan Province, Li Lisan joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. In 1922 he served as secretary of the CCP branch of the Anyuan mine and took part in leading the general strike of the Anyuan miners. During the 30 May movement in 1925, he was made chairman of the Shanghai General Labor Union. In 1927 he took part in the Nanchang uprising and served as secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee in the same year. When serving as Political Bureau member and propaganda head of the CCP Central Committee in 1930, he committed mistakes of leftist opportunism. From 1931 to 1946 he studied in Moscow. In 1947 he served as a member of the Northeast Bureau of the CCP Central Committee and secretary of the Labor Committee. After the founding of the PRC, he served successively as vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Labor, minister of labor of the central people's government, deputy director of the CCP Central Committee's industrial and communications work department, and secretary of the secretariat of the North China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. He was elected a member of the fourth to the eighth Central Committees. He died in Beijing in June 1967.

Outstanding military leaders of the people's army who sacrificed their lives for the country:

Fang Zhimin (1900-1935): A native of Yiyang, Jiangxi Province, Fang Zhimin joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1923. During the first revolutionary civil war period, he led the peasants' movement in Jiangxi. After the failure of the great revolution, he founded the northeastern Jiangxi revolutionary base area and the 10th Red Army and served as chairman of the workers' and peasants democratic government of Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangxi and political commissar of the 10th Red Army. He was elected member of the Sixth CCP Central Committee. In November 1934 he led the vanguard detachment of the Red Army in marching north to resist the Japanese aggressors. In January 1935 he was captured in battle against the counterrevolutionary Kuomintang troops owing to the betrayal by a renegade. He remained faithful and unyielding while in prison, and died a martyr's death in Nanchang in July of the same year.

Liu Zhidan (1903-1936): A native of Baoan, Shaanxi Province, Liu Zhidan joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1925. After the failure of the great revolution, he led the Wei-hua uprising together with Xie Zichang and served later as secretary of the military commission of the CCP's North Shaanxi Special Committee. In 1932 he founded the 26th Red Army, launched guerrilla warfare and agrarian revolution and established the Shaanxi-Gansu revolutionary base area. In 1935 he was made deputy army corps commander and concurrently chief of staff of the 15th Army Corps of the Red Army. He waged resolute struggles against right and left opportunism within the party and made the northern Shaanxi base area a converging point of the long march, thus making important contributions to the Chinese revolution. In April 1936 he was killed in action against the Kuomintang reactionaries in Zhongyang County, western Shaanxi.

Huang Gonglue (1898-1931): A native of Xiangxiang, Hunan Province, Huang Gonglue studied in the Huangpu Military Academy and, after graduation, participated in the north expedition. In 1927 he joined the Chinese Communist Party. In 1928 he took part in leading the Pingjiang uprising and served as commander of the second column of the Fifth Red Army. In 1930 he was made commander of the Third Red Army. He played an important part in smashing the first, second and third "annihilation campaigns" mounted by Chiang Kai-shek. In October 1931 while leading his troops to move away, he was hit by bullets in an enemy air raid at Dongqu of Jian, Jiangxi Province, and laid down his life.

Xu Jishen (?-1931): A native of Luan, Anhui Province, Xu Jishen joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1924. A graduate from the first class of the Huangpu Military Academy, he served as chief of staff in Ye Ting's independent regiment and commander of the 72d Regiment of the 24th Division, and won battle honor during the northern expedition. In 1930 he was made commander of the First Red Army. In 1931 he served as commander of the 11th division of the Fourth Red Army and chairman of the CCP's West Anhui Military Subcommittee and concurrently commander of the 12th division. He waged resolute struggles against Wang Ming's leftist opportunism practiced by Zhang Guotao in the Hebei-Henan-Anhui base area. He was murdered in Baiqueyuan of Guangshan, Henan Province, in October of the same year.

Wei Baqun (1893-1932): A native of Donglan, Guangxi and of Zhuang nationality, Wei Baqun was one of the leaders in the Baise uprising. In 1924 he went to Guangzhou to study at the Guangzhou Institute of the Peasant Movement, and the following year he started a peasant movement institute in Donglan to train key members in peasant movement. In 1928 he joined the Chinese Communist Party and led guerrilla warfare in the Youjiang area. In 1929 he participated in the Baise uprising and served as a member of the Youjiang workers' and peasants' democratic government, and column and divisional commander of the Seventh Red Army. In 1930 when the main force of the Seventh Red Army moved to Jiangxi, he led some troops to carry on struggling in the Youjiang area. In October 1932 he met his death in Donglan.

Zhao Bosheng (1897-1933): One of the leaders in the Ningdu uprising and a native of Huanghua, Hebei Province, Zhao Bosheng graduated from the Baoding Military Academy. He held positions such as brigade commander of the special unit of the Northwest Army. In 1931, while serving as chief of staff of the 26th Route Army, he was transferred by Chiang Kai-shek to the anti-communist front in Jiangxi. In July of the same year he joined the Chinese Communist Party and in December, together with Dong Zhenbang, staged an uprising in Ningdu with his over 17,000 men and joined the Chinese Workers' and Peasants Red Army. His troops were reorganized into the Fifth Army Corps of the first front army of the Red Army, and he was made chief of staff and concurrently commander of the 14th Army. On 8 January 1933 he conducted operations against the Kuomintang reactionaries in Huangshidu of Nancheng, Jiangxi Province and died a hero's death.

Dong Zhenbang (1895-1937): One of the leaders in the Ningdu uprising and a native of Xinhe, Henan Province, Dong Zhenbang graduated from the Baoding Military Academy. He held positions such as divisional commander in the Northern Army. In 1931, while serving as commander of the 73d Brigade of the 26th Route Army, he was transferred by Chiang Kai-shek to the anti-communist front in Jiangxi. In December of the same year he and Zhao Bosheng staged an uprising with their troops in Ningdu and joined the Chinese Workers' and Peasants Red Army, serving as deputy general commander of the Fifth Army Corps and concurrently commander of the 13th Army. In 1932 he joined the Chinese Communist Party and was later commander of the Fifth Army Corps of the Red Army and commander of the Fifth Army. He joined the long march in 1934. On 20 January 1937 he conducted operations against the Kuomintang reactionaries in Gaotai, Gansu Province, and died a hero's death.

Duan Dechang (1905-1933): A founder of the Hunan-West Hubei Revolutionary Armed Forces and base area and a native of Xiangtan, Hunan Province, Duan Dechang joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1925. In the autumn of 1927 he took part in leading the peasant uprisings in Nanxian, Huarong and Shishou. Later he served successively as chief of staff of the West Hubei guerrilla forces, commander of the first independent division, chief of staff of the Sixth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants Red Army and concurrently commander of the first column, army commander, political commissar, member of the CCP's West Hubei Provincial Committee and member of the Presidium of its military subcommittee. He waged resolute struggles against the second and third leftist mistakes. In the summer of 1933 he laid down his life at Jinguoping of Hefeng, Hubei Province.

Yang Jingyu (1905-1940): Originally named Ha Shangde and a native of Queshan, Henan Province, Yang Jingyu was a chief responsible person of the northeast allied anti-Japanese army. In 1927 he joined the Chinese Communist Party and served as secretary of the CCP's South Henan Special Committee. After the "18 September" incident, he served successively as chairman of the Northeast People's Anti-Japanese Salvation Association, commander of the First Army of the Northeast Allied Anti-Japanese Army and concurrently its political commissar, chief commander of the First Route Army and concurrently its political commissar, and secretary of the CCP's South Manchu Provincial Committee. He persisted in waging protracted and arduous anti-Japanese guerrilla war in the northeast. On 23 February 1940 he died a hero's death in the battle against the Japanese aggressors in Mengjiang, Jilin Province. In order to cherish his memory, the people changed the name of Mengjiang County to Jingyu.

Zuo Quan (1906-1942): A native of Liling, Hunan Province, Zuo Quan joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1925. A graduate from the first class of the Huangpu Military Academy, he later went to the Soviet Union to study at the Red Army Academy. After his return to the country in 1930, he was made successively political commissar and commander of the 15th Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, chief of staff and acting commander of the First Army Corps. During the anti-Japanese war, he served as deputy chief of staff of the Eighth Route Army. On 2 June 1942 he died a glorious death while directing the troops to fight against the Japanese aggressors in Liao County, Shanxi Province. To cherish the memory of his outstanding achievements, Liao County was renamed Zuoquan.

Ye Ting (1896-1946): A founder of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Armed Forces and a native of Huiyang, Guangdong Province, Ye Ting was once a battalion commander of Sun Yat-sen's Guards Regiment. In 1924 he joined the Chinese Communist Party, and before long went to study in the Soviet Union. After his return to the country in 1925, he served as commander of the independent regiment of the Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. During the northern expedition, he led his independent regiment in fighting bravely and skillfully, breaking all enemy resistance, and won a reputation as the "famous general of the northern expedition," and his troops were called the "Iron Army." After the failure of the first revolutionary civil war, he took part in leading the Nanchang uprising of 1 August and served as commander of the 11th Army. In December of the same year he took part in leading the Guangzhou uprising and served as commander in chief. He played an important role in fighting the counterrevolutionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces and in founding the people's army. During the anti-Japanese war, he served as commander of the New Fourth Army and resolutely carried out the correct line of the party. In the South Anhui incident, he was injured and held in custody by the Kuomintang reactionaries, but he remained faithful and unyielding in prison. After the CCP Central Committee made serious and principled representations to the Kuomintang, he was set free in March 1946. On 8 April he died in a plane accident at Heichashan of Xingxian, Shanxi Province, on his way back to Yanan from Chongqing.

Outstanding forerunners in intellectual circles in modern China:

Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940): A native of Shaoxing, Xhejiang Province, Cai Yuanpei was a famous democratic revolutionary, educationalist and scientist. In 1902, together with Zang Bingling and others, he sponsored and organized the patriotic study club and the patriotic girls' school. In 1904 he formed the Guang Fu Hui (society for breaking the foreign yoke) together with Tao Chengzang, and joined the Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League) the following year, throwing himself into revolutionary activities to overthrow the autocratic monarchy. After the revolution of 1911, he was appointed the first education minister of the Nanjing Provisional Government. In 1917 he served as president of Peking University, advocating science and democracy and favouring "all-inclusivity" and contention between a hundred schools of thought. In 1927 he was made head of the University Ministry of the Kuomintang Government, but was later assigned to serve as dean of the Central Research Institute. After the "18 September" incident, he went around campaigning for the anti-Japanese cause and, together with Soong Ching Ling and Lu Xun, formed the China league for the protection of human rights. He died of illness in Hong Kong in March 1940.

Non-party close comrades-in-arms who always supported our party:

Liao Zhongkai (1877-1925): A Kuomintang left-winger, Liao Zhongkai was a native of Huiyang, Guangdong Province. In 1902 he went to study in Japan and in 1905 joined the Tong Meng Hui, becoming one of its earliest members. After the revolution of 1911, he served as chief senator and head of the finance department of the Guangdong Military Government. In 1922 he took part in helping Sun Yat-sen in defining the three great policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the communist party, and assistance to peasants and workers. After the reorganization of the Kuomintang in 1924, he was elected standing member of the Central Executive Committee. After the death of Sun Yat-sen, he resolutely carried out the three great policies. He was assassinated by a Kuomintang right-winger in Guangzhou on 20 August 1925.

He Xiangning (1878-1972): A native of Nanhai, Guangdong Province, and Liao Zhongkai's wife, He Xiangning was an outstanding representative of the Kuomintang revolutionary group. In 1904 she joined the Tong Meng Hui in Japan and followed Sun Yat-sen in making revolution. In 1924 she resolutely supported Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary program of the three people's principles and his reorganization of the Kuomintang, and served as member of the Kuomintang central executive committee and head of the women's department. In 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution, she resigned all her posts in the Kuomintang government to engage in anti-Chiang activities. During the anti-Japanese war, she took an active part in the anti-Japanese democratic movement. In 1947 she made preparations for the formation of the revolutionary committee of the Kuomintang, together with Li Jisen and others. After the founding of the PRC, she served as vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, and vice chairman and chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. She died of illness in Beijing on 1 September 1972.

Deng Yanda (1895-1931): A native of Huiyang, Guangdong Province, Deng Yanda was a Kuomintang left-winger. In 1920 he joined the Guangdong Army formed by Sun Yat-sen and served successively as battalion commander and regimental commander. In 1926 he became dean of the Huangpu Military Academy. During the northern expedition, he served as director of the general political department of the National Revolutionary Army and chairman of the Hunan Provincial Government. In March 1927, together with Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Wu Yushang and others, he convened the third session of the Kuomintang Second Central Committee, at which a decision to limit Chiang Kai-shek's power was approved. After the 12 April counterrevolutionary coup, he was put on the wanted list by Chiang Kai-shek and, after Wang Ching-wei worked hand in glove with Chiang Kai-shek, went into exile in the Soviet Union and Germany. He returned to the country in 1930 and officially set up the "Emergency Action Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang" (the predecessor of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), engaging in struggles against the Chiang Kai-shek clique. In November 1931 he was secretly murdered by Chiang Kai-shek in Nanjing.

Yang Xingfu (1883-1933): A native of Qingjiang, Jiangxi Province, Yang Xingfu followed Sun Yat-sen to the north in 1925 and served as his secretary. Later he held positions such as general secretary of the Central Research Institute. In 1932 he sponsored and organized the China league for the protection of human rights together with Soong Ching Ling, Cao Yuanpei, Lu Xun and others, and served as its general secretary, engaging in progressive anti-Chiang and anti-Japanese activities. On 18 June 1933 he was assassinated by a Kuomintang special agent in Shanghai.

Shen Junru (1875-1963): A native of Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province, Shen Junru went abroad in his early years and studied at Hosei University in Japan. After his return to China, he engaged in the constitutional movement and took part in the revolution of 1911 and in the struggles against the northern warlords. In 1932 he joined the China league for the protection of human rights sponsored and organized by Soong Ching Ling, Cai Yuanpei, Lu Xun and others. In 1935 he was the first to answer the CCP's call for the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front, and organized the salvation association of Shanghai cultural circles and the national salvation federation of all circles, to unfold the anti-Japanese salvation movement in the Kuomintang-ruled areas. In November 1936 he was arrested by the Kuomintang reactionaries together with Zou Taofen, Li Gongpu and four others. They remained faithful and unyielding, and were not set free until the war of resistance broke out. In 1948 he went to the liberated areas to take part in the preparatory work of the new CPPCC. After the founding of the PRC, he served as president of the Supreme People's Court and vice chairman of the NCP Standing Committee. He died of illness in Peking on 11 June 1963.

Outstanding fighters in science and culture:

Zou Taofen (1895-1944): Zou Taofen was born and brought up in Fuzhou, although his original family home was in Yujiang, Jiangxi Province. An outstanding journalist, political commentator and publisher, he engaged in newspaper publishing

work all his life. After the "18 September" incident, he opposed Chiang Kai-shek's policy of non-resistance. In 1932 he started the life bookshop. In early 1933 he joined the China League for the protection of human rights and in July was forced to go into exile abroad. He returned to the country in 1935, took part in the salvation movement led by the Chinese Communist Party, editing in succession *MAZHONG SHENGHUO* weekly, *SHENGHUO RIBAO*, and *SHENGHUO XINGQIKAN* in Shanghai and Hong Kong, and held leading positions in both the Shanghai Salvation Association of All Circles and the National Salvation Association of All Circles. In 1936 he was arrested by the Kuomintang. On being set free after the start of the anti-Japanese war, he edited publications such as *KANZHAN* and *QUANMIN KANZHAN*. He took an active part in the political struggles against Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary policy. He died of illness on 24 July 1944. The CCP Central Committee accepted the request in his will and posthumously admitted him as a full CPP member.

Li Siguang (1889-1971): A native of Huanggang, Hubei Province, and a geologist, Li Siguang was a member of the CCP. In his early years he joined the Tong Meng Hui and took part in the revolution of 1911. Engaged all along in the research and teaching of palaeontology, glaciology and geomechanics, he served as minister of geology, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and chairman of the China Scientific and Technical Association, and was elected delegate to the first, second and third NPC, vice chairman of the first, second and third national committees of the CPPCC, and member of the Ninth CCP Central Committee. One of his most important contributions to the theory of geology was the founding of geomechanics. He made very great contributions in the oil exploration of our country and in seismological and geological work and wrote quite a few scientific works. He is one of the typical examples of a patriotic scholar with a view to "saving the nation with science" turning into a party member-expert who was both red and expert.

Wen Yiduo (1899-1946): A native of Xiehuai, Hubei Province, Wen Yiduo was a famous poet and scholar. Beginning in 1943, owing to his hatred for the autocratic rule and corruption of the Kuomintang government, he took an active part in the struggles for democracy. In 1945 he was made a member of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League. On 15 July 1946 he was assassinated in Kunmin by a Kuomintang special agent. In his article "Farewell, Leighton Stuart!" Comrade Mao Zedong particularly pointed out, "...Wen Yiduo rose to his full height and smote the table, angrily faced the Kuomintang pistols and died rather than submit ...who demonstrated the heroic spirit of our nation."

Famous patriotic figures:

Yang Hucheng (1892-1949): A native of Pucheng, Shaanxi Province, Yang Hucheng was a patriotic military leader of the Kuomintang. In December 1936, under the influence of the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front of the Chinese Communist Party, he staged the Xian incident together with Zhang Xueliang, placed Chiang Kai-shek under detention, forced him to accept the proposal to stop the civil war and resist Japan. After the Xian incident was settled, he was forced by Chiang Kai-shek to leave his post in the army and take leave of absence abroad. When the war of resistance began, Yang returned to China and was interned by Chiang Kai-shek for a long period. In September 1949, on the eve of the liberation of Chongqing, he was murdered in cold blood by the Kuomintang.

Chen Jiageng (1874-1961): A native of Xiamen, Fujian Province, Chen Jiageng was a leader of the patriotic overseas Chinese. He lived in Singapore for a long time, engaging in the rubber trade, and enthusiastically established cultural, educational and public welfare institutions for the overseas Chinese and his native place. In 1910 he joined the Tong Heng Hui. After the "18 September" incident, he put forward a proposal that the overseas Chinese should either furnish funds or contribute strength in the national salvation movement. During the war of resistance, he went to Yanan to convey his greetings to the army and people in the border areas for their war of resistance against aggression and supported the anti-Japanese national united front led by the Chinese Communist Party. In 1949 he attended the first plenary session of the CPPCC. After the liberation he served successively as member of the Central People's Government, vice chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, member of the NPC Standing Committee, member of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission and chairman of the All-China Returned Overseas Chinese Association. He died of illness in Beijing on 12 August 1961.

Zhang Zhizhong (1890-1969): Zhang Zhizhong was a native of Caoxian, Anhui Province. In 1946 he was one of the Kuomintang representatives in various negotiations with the CCP. In 1946 he joined the military subcommittee for studying unification of the Kuomintang and CCP armies as the representative of the Kuomintang and advocated peaceful solution of the domestic problems. In 1949 he served as chief representative of the Kuomintang government's peace talks delegation in negotiation with the CCP's delegation and, when the agreement on internal peace drafted by both parties was rejected by the Kuomintang, stayed in Beijing. In the same year he was invited to the first plenary session of the CPPCC. After the founding of the PRC, he held positions such as vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and vice chairman of the National Defence Council. He died of illness in Beijing on 6 April 1969.

Fu Zuoyi (1895-1974): Fu Zuoyi was a native of Linyi, Shanxi Province. He held positions such as chairman of Suiyuan Province and participated in the anti-Japanese war at the Great Wall and in Suiyuan. During the liberation war period, he served as commander of the North China "Bandit-suppression Headquarters" of the Kuomintang. When Tianjin was liberated at the end of January 1949, he accepted the terms for the liberation of Beijing put forward by our party and revolved at the head of his troops, making a great contribution to the peaceful liberation of Beijing. After the founding of the PRC, he served as member of the central people's government, vice chairman of the national committee of the CPPCC, vice chairman of the National Defence Council, minister of water conservancy and minister of water conservancy and electric power. He died of illness in Beijing on 19 April 1974.

Close commander-in-arms of the Chinese people and outstanding internationalist fighters:

Norman Bethune (1890-1939): An internationalist fighter, a member of the Canadian Communist Party and a well-known chest surgeon, Norman Bethune was born in the province of Ontario, Canada. He graduated in medicine from Toronto University, and served as chest surgeon in Victoria Hospital and director of chest surgery in Sacred Heart Hospital, Montreal. In 1936, when the German and Italian fascists carried out armed intervention in the Spanish revolution, he followed the Canadian volunteers to the front and worked for the anti-fascist Spanish people. After the

anti-Japanese war broke out, in order to help the Chinese people in their cause of liberation, he was sent by the communist parties of Canada and the United States and came to the liberated areas in China at the head of a medical team formed by the Canadians and Americans. In March-April 1938 he arrived in Yanan, and soon after he went to work in the Shaanxi-Chahaer-Hebei border area. He showed great sense of responsibility in his work and was warm-hearted towards all comrades and the people. With his consummate medical skill, he served the anti-Japanese army and people in China and trained a large number of medical cadres, thus making an outstanding contribution to the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. Later he contracted blood poisoning while operating on wounded soldiers and died in Wai Jan, Hebei, on 12 November 1939.

Agnes Smedley (1890-1950): An American woman writer and reporter, Agnes Smedley was born in a worker's family and worked as a worker in a cigarette factory and sales promoter of books and magazines. In 1919 she went to Germany and lived in Berlin for 8 years. In 1928 she came to China as a special correspondent of the FRANKFURTER TAG, took part in China's progressive cultural movement in Shanghai and was on good terms with Lu Xun and others. She helped Soong Ching Ling and others to organize the China league for the protection of human rights. After the anti-Japanese war broke out, she went to Yanan and did first-aid work on the Shanxi frontline. In 1941 she returned to the United States because of illness but was persecuted by the U.S. Government. In 1949 she went into exile in Britain and died of illness in Oxford the following year. In compliance with the request in her will, her ashes were interred in China. Her works included "Daughter of the Earth," an autobiographical full-length novel, "The Great Road" which describes the life of Zhu De, as well as "Destiny of the Chinese People," "Chinese Red Army Marches," "China Fights Back" and "Battle Hymn of China"--collections of short stories and essays which introduce the Chinese revolutionary struggles.

Anna Louise Strong (1885-1970): Anna Louise Strong was an American woman correspondent and writer. In her early years she plunged into progressive activities in the United States. Going to the Soviet Union for the first time in 1921, she extensively introduced the revolutionary achievements of the Soviet Union. In 1925 she visited China for the first time. During the anti-Japanese war period, she came to China twice, reporting the workers' and peasants' revolutionary struggles led by the CCP and the heroic war of resistance launched by the people's army. In 1946 she came to China for the fifth time, and visited Yanan. In 1958 she came to China for the sixth time and reported to the world the achievements of our country in socialist revolution and construction, thus contributing to the increased understanding and friendship between the peoples of China and the United States. She wrote books such as "Why I Came to China at the Age of 72" and edited 10 issues of "Letters From China." She died in Beijing in 1970.

Kotni (1910-1942): Originally named Dwarkanath S. Kotni, he was an Indian. In 1936 he graduated from Grand Medical College. In 1938 he joined the Indian support-China medical team and came to China to support the Chinese people in their anti-Japanese war. In February 1939, together with the Indian support-China medical team, he broke through the obstructions placed by the Kuomintang and arrived in Yanan. In December of the same year he went to the anti-Japanese frontline in southeast Shanxi. In August 1940 he went to work at the Bethune School and the Bethune International Peace Hospital of the Shaanxi-Chahaer-Hebei Military Region.

In January 1941 he served as the first director of the Bethune International Peace Hospital. He joined the Chinese Communist Party on 7 July 1942. He worked hard, and tried his best to save the wounded and trained medical workers. He died of illness on 9 December 1942.

Edgar Snow (1905-1972): Edgar Snow was a famous American writer and reporter. In 1928 he came to China for the first time. In 1936 he visited the North Shaanxi base area and wrote in the following year "Red Star Over China," publicizing the Chinese revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the CCP and the long march of the workers' and peasants' Red Army. After the founding of the PRC, he visited China three times in 1960, 1964 and 1970, and wrote a lot of reports introducing the socialist revolution and construction of our country. His writings included "The Other Side of the River" and "Red China Today." He died in Geneva on 15 February 1972. In compliance with the request in his will, some of his ashes were conveyed to Beijing on 19 October 1973 for burial.

Inejiro Asanuma (1898-1960): Inejiro Asanuma was an outstanding Japanese anti-imperialist fighter, a brilliant politician and a pioneer in the Japan-China friendship movement. In 1947 he was general secretary of the Japanese Socialist Party and in 1960 was elected chairman of the party. He took an active part in the struggles for the independence, democracy, peace and neutrality of Japan. Twice, in 1957 and 1959, he led the Japanese Socialist Party delegation on visits to China and, together with Zhang Xiruo, chairman of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, issued joint statements on the questions of the promotion of friendship between Japan and China and the normalization of relations between the two countries. He was murdered by fascist thugs on 12 October 1960.

Kenzo Nakajima (1903-1979): Kenzo Nakajima was a progressive Japanese political commentator and a pioneer in the Japan-China friendship movement. He was a professor and honorary professor of Tokyo University. In 1956, when the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association was set up, he served as chairman of the board of the association. He visited China on many occasions and made important contributions in promoting Japan-China cultural exchanges and developing friendly relations between the two countries. He died of illness on 11 June 1979.

CND: 4005/779

PARTY AND STATE

DENG DEEMED RESPONSIBLE FOR PAST MISTAKES

OW200214 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] The resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Committee points out: "Likewise, responsibility for the errors committed in the work of this period rested with the same collective leadership of the party Central Committee. Although Comrade Mao Zedong must be held chiefly responsible, we cannot lay the blame on him alone for all those errors."

In accordance with this formula, all those who committed errors along with Comrade Mao Zedong should frankly and sincerely admit their errors and bear their share of the responsibility. This is conducive not only to restoring the truth of history but to drawing lessons from historical experiences and not committing similar errors.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping should set an example in this regard. Serving as general secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping worked at Chairman Mao's side and implemented the latter's most important instructions for years. Therefore, he should bear a certain share of the responsibility for past errors, especially for the following serious ones:

1. In 1956, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping was entrusted by Chairman Mao to handle the case of the so-called Gao Gang-Rao Shushi antiparty clique, he completely accepted the false evidence cooked up by Kang Sheng against Gao Gang and Rao Shushi. Moreover, in his report to the fourth plenary session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee, he mistakenly described Gao Gang and Rao Shushi as antiparty and antipeople careerists and conspirators. This means that comrades Deng Xiaoping and Mao Zedong should be held chiefly responsible for wronging the innocent Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, veteran comrades of our party and army.
2. In 1957 Chairman Mao personally instructed Comrade Deng Xiaoping to carry out the antirightist movement. While leading the movement, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called for dealing relentless blows to the rightists. As a result, as put in the resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee: "The scope of this struggle was made far too broad and a number of intellectuals, patriotic people and party cadres were unjustifiably labeled as 'rightists,' with unfortunate consequences." In this movement, millions of innocent people were wronged and tens of thousands of party members and intellectuals were persecuted to death.

3. In 1959 commander in chief Peng and other leading comrades resolutely and courageously resisted an erroneous line. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping did not support their correct views. Furthermore, proceeding from his personal interests, Comrade Deng Xiaoping denounced commander in chief Peng and other leading comrades and called for carrying out a merciless struggle against the so-called right opportunists--Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou as well as other comrades. Therefore, it should be said that Comrade Deng Xiaoping should bear a certain share of responsibility for the tragic experiences of commander in chief Peng and other comrades and a large number of implicated and victimized army cadres.

4. The 1968 third plenary session of the Eighth CCP Central Committee presided over by Mao Zedong himself adopted the erroneous resolution on expelling Liu Shaoqi from the party forever and removing him from all posts both inside and outside the party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping did not attend the plenary session. Later, however, in his written self-criticism running to 10,000 words, he expressed his resolute support for the resolution of the plenary session and denounced Comrade Liu Shaoqi as a so-called renegade, hidden traitor and scab. Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping cannot but be said to be more or less responsible for the unfortunate death of the farsighted proletarian revolutionary and Marxist Comrade Liu Shaoqi.

To sum up, a host of historical facts show that among those central leaders who are still alive, it is Comrade Deng Xiaoping who should bear a considerable portion of the responsibility for the past mistakes committed by the party. As far as facts are concerned, it is not all the past leaders of the party Central Committee who should share the responsibility for past mistakes. This is because many comrades such as Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, He Long and Chen Yi were victimized while waging a heroic struggle against the erroneous line. Therefore, they should not be held responsible for past mistakes. As for those who committed serious mistakes along with Comrade Mao Zedong, they should frankly admit their mistakes, bear their share of the responsibility and draw lessons for such mistakes in order to avoid committing similar mistakes.

CSO: 4005/779

BRIEFS

XIZANG WORK GROUP--Led by Hou Jie, regional party committee Standing Committee member and regional people's government vice chairman, the Xizang regional work group arrived in Ngari Prefecture on 17 June. During its stay in Gerze County, the work group listened to the report made by a responsible comrade of the county CCP committee on the work of the county. The work group investigated and gained an understanding of the situation of livestock production and of implementing production responsibility systems in the county. The work group inspected the county trading company and visited the county middle school. In (Yanhu) District and (Xiongha) District in Gegya County, the work group inspected the situation of livestock production and gained an understanding of the situation of commodity supplies. The work group also read the masses' letters and listened to their demands. During its stay in Ngari Prefecture, the work group inspected all items of work in the prefecture, listened to the reports of the prefectural CCP committee and the prefectural administrative commissioner's office and visited Rutog, Gar, Zanda and Burang counties. The work group vigorously helped this prefecture solve the problems of communications, water and electricity.
[HK180944 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 29 Jun 81 HK]

GUANGXI PARTY MEMBER RECRUITMENT--Guangxi regional CCP organizations at all levels have recently recruited some 118,000 party members. The quality of the newly recruited party members is relatively high. In recruiting party members, all localities paid attention to: 1. recruit party members in places where the party's influence is relatively weak in fields such as public hygiene and culture and education. Recruit intellectuals who are qualified and eager to join the party. Before the downfall of the "gang of four," party members from the educational front accounted for only some 29,000, 2.9 percent of the total. In 1980, the number increased to some 61,400, 5.5 percent of the total. 2. emphasis is put on the four modernizations, people from the forefront of the cultural and technological fields were recruited; this is to correct the erroneous practice of the cultural revolution. According to statistics, since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, Nanning has recruited 10,582 new members, of which 8,789, 83 percent of the total, were intellectuals and progressive workers. 3. act according to the constitution of the party when recruiting new party members and do a good job in training them. [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Jun 81 HK]

CCP MEMBER INTERVIEWED--The 6 July RENMIN RIBAO carries a report on an interview with veteran CCP member Comrade He Changgong entitled: "Utter devotion to the party and country." Comrade He Changgong, one of the party members during the early period of the CCP's founding, is presently vice chairman of the CCPC National Committee and vice president of the Chinese PLA military academy. He is 81 years old. The report describes Comrade He Changgong's heroic struggle in the revolution over the past 60 years. [Text] [OW060225 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 5 Jul 81]

CSO: 4005/779

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER ARMY DISCUSSED

OW190645 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] It is correct to put the army under the absolute leadership of the party. It is also right that the army fights wherever the party orders it to. However, our army's positive and negative experiences over the past several decades since its founding show that the so-called formulation of absolutely obeying the party's leadership is very abstract. This is because the party's leadership has usually been exercised by individual persons, especially by the chairman of the military commission, during these decades. It is for this reason that in this historical period our army has often become a tool for a certain leader to usurp party leadership and state power, to get rid of dissidents and to take reckless and adventurist action.

This historical lesson is very important for us to correctly understand Comrade Mao Zedong's longtime leadership over the army and the relationship between the party's leadership and individual persons. After the Zunyi meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong set a precedent for the leader of the party Central Committee in arrogating all powers to himself in the command of the army and in having the army serve his personal ends. Thus, only one person has held power over everything in the army, even over the lives of army leaders.

The handling of the cases of veteran comrades in the 4th Front Army, the question of attitude toward Comrade Liu Zhidan, the suppression of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, the persecution of comrades Peng Dehuai and He Long, the (first tolerance and then purge of Lin Biao) and the frequent transfer and removal of leading persons of the PLA general headquarters, arms and services as well as of the military regions are all historical experiences the army should sum up and draw lessons from. In so doing, we should make an accurate assessment of Comrade Mao Zedong, the late leader of our party and, more importantly, should take measures to avoid repeating past mistakes or committing even more serious ones. Only thus will our army really become the people's armed forces under the party's leadership, not a tool at the disposal of an individual person.

Regrettably, the party Central Committee's third and fifth plenary sessions and particularly its recent sixth plenary session, of great significance have failed to conscientiously sum up the lessons in this regard. At these sessions, this question has been sidestepped. This attitude is extremely wrong.

This is why the despotic style still exists in exercising leadership over the army. Thus, whoever assumes the chairmanship of the military commission can place himself above the party and the government decide the destiny of the several million PLA commanders and fighters. After having actual control over the military commission in December 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, without any discussion by the military commission and without the approval of the Political Bureau, ordered a large-scale purge and removal of army cadres who had participated in the "three support's and two military's" [support industry, support agriculture and support the broad masses of the left; military control and political and military training], during the Great Cultural Revolution. Despite opposition by comrades of the military commission and the Political Bureau, he decided without authorization to order the army to invade Vietnam in early 1979. This caused tens of thousands of meaningless PLA casualties and brought tremendous losses to our economic and defense construction. This has also greatly affected our country's international prestige.

Therefore, we must conscientiously sum up our lessons in this regard in order to enable the party to exercise absolute leadership over the army and to prevent a certain person from arrogating all powers to himself in the command of the army and from doing as he pleases in the name of party leadership over the army.

CSO: 4005/780

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DENG XIAOPING'S DEFENSE UPDATING LINE CRITICIZED

OW220239 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] A resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee stressed that while building a modern socialist China, it is necessary to modernize national defense and build the PLA into a strong and modernized revolutionary force. The PLA commanders and fighters warmly support this important party policy. But we must point out that army modernization still faces many serious problems. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who is now holding the power of the central military commission in his hands, has turned a deaf ear to the proposals of other leading comrades and forced on our army his policy of relying on the West--particularly the United States--for modernizing China's national defense. Comrades in the military commission, the Ministry of National Defense and the general logistics department are extremely concerned about this policy and have voiced their doubts.

First, U.S. weapons are very costly. If we buy from the United States a great deal of weaponry, equipment and military technology needed for the modernization of our army, we would have to pay for them in great sums of foreign exchange. Last year, a number of U.S. experts, visiting China at Comrade Deng Xiaoping's invitation, said that if the United States were asked to help the Chinese army in its initial modernization program and to equip it with U.S. weapons, it would take US\$80-100 billion. A spokesman for a U.S. munitions company also said that equipping a PLA tank division with U.S. tanks and air defense and communications technology takes nearly US\$1 billion. Obviously, relying on U.S. weapons for equipping and modernizing our army is sheer fantasy.

Second, recently some people have suggested that U.S. technology for producing modern weapons be imported for producing such weapons in great quantities by plants at home. This suggestion seems economical and appealing. But the suggestion makers have failed to come to grips with reality. The problem is that China still lacks the necessary technological foundation for copying U.S. weapons. We experienced failures in this regard in the past. For instance, we used to import from the West whole sets of equipment for an aircraft engine plant. But because the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry failed to learn from the West the complicated technology for producing alloys essential to the production of the aircraft engine, the plant could not produce aircraft engines in any large quantity.

Experts hold that in view of China's present conditions, a plan for mass production of the newest U.S. weapons with complicated technology is unrealistic. Let us recall our historical experiences. Not long after the founding of our republic, we established, in a very short time, a technological foundation for the defense industry and began producing aircraft, tanks, modern artillery pieces, automatic weapons and various types of military technological equipment. In building the many defense industrial plants, we never relied on the United States but largely on our own efforts with assistance from other nations. We also did not use complicated U.S. technology, but learned simple and reliable technology from other nations.

Many comrades have convincingly argued that we must not solely rely on the United States for the modernization of our army. We can import from other nations weapons that are less complicated and cheaper, and production technology that is less sophisticated. For instance, we may consider buying needed weapons from Argentina, Brazil and other nations.

In short, there are still many problems in our country's current line on army modernization that are awaiting solution.

CSO: 4005/780

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA PRAISED FOR AID TO FLOOD AREAS

OW250144 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 24 Jul 81

[Text] This is Ba Yi Radio. This is Ba Yi Radio. We are again broadcasting to commanders and fighters of PLA units taking part in combating the flood and in relief work.

Comrade commanders and fighters engaged in combating the flood and relief work: the selfless spirit you have demonstrated in fighting the flood and helping the people, fearing no difficulty or danger, is an inspiration to commanders and fighters of the whole army. Our army's glorious tradition of fearing neither hardship nor death and serving the people wholeheartedly is being carried forward by you. Your noble moral character in fighting day and night to save the people's lives and property and to protect state enterprises and organizations is winning the boundless love and esteem of the masses.

Four ulterior motives, a few individuals on the party Central Committee have in the past few years wilfully exaggerated the mistakes committed by our army during the cultural revolution and belittled in every possible way the army's positive role in society. Especially since Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the work of the military commission, he has, taking advantage of the army consolidation and public trial of former PLA leaders, dealt blows at and suppressed a large number of army cadres. As a result, the army's prestige has dropped to an unprecedented low. Particularly because of his intentionally long delay in reaching a conclusion on the army's participation in the "three supports and two military's" tasks and failure for so long to solve problems left over from the past, the relations between the army and the people and between the army and the government have deteriorated, and the masses have become dissatisfied with the army. However, this attempt to undermine the glorious tradition of friendly feelings between the army and the people will in the end come to naught.

We believe that through the current participation of the army in fighting the flood and giving relief, unity between the army and the people and between the army and the government and the flesh-and-blood ties between the army and the people will be restored and further developed.

We hope that the people in the disaster areas will work hand in hand and closely cooperate with the PLA units to win a great victory in the fight against the flood at an early date.

We extend our highest revolutionary greetings to commanders and fighters of Chengdu PLA units, Guangxi PLA units [as heard], Wuhan PLA units and Shenyang PLA units who are courageously fighting the floods, and deep sympathies to families of commanders and fighters who have given their lives for the people in fighting the floods.

Long live the great unity between the army and the people!

CSO: 4005/780

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

PLA CONSTRUCTION SUPPORT--Beijing, 23 Jul (XINHUA)--In the past few years PLA units have done much to support China's socialist construction. Each year PLA units contribute more than 10 million workdays to local construction work, in addition to sending trucks, ships and aircraft to deliver supplies and participate in scientific research work. The capital construction corps, railway corps and other engineering units, which undertake construction work directly, have completed 21 large- and medium-sized industrial projects; built 1,554,000 square meters of civilian homes in Beijing, Tianjin and other cities; discovered mineral and ground water resources; laid more than 1,000 km of railway tracks, and so forth. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0713 GMT 23 Jul 81 OW]

SHANDONG FORTRESS COMMANDERS--Jinan, 10 Jul (XINHUA)--A gray-haired PLA cadre walked out of the Yantai railway station in Shandong early one morning in mid-May this year, carrying a bookbag and a haversack. He then boarded a mini-bus together with a number of PLA fighters. The mini-bus was bound for the Neichangshan fortress which is located more than 180 li from Yantai. This PLA cadre was Bai Bin [4101 2430], former deputy chief of staff of the Jinan PLA units and now commander of the Neichangshan fortress district. He was on his way to the Neichangshan fortress to assume command of the district. A veteran army cadre who joined the Eighth Route Army in 1938, Bai Bin had ruled out all formalities in inaugurating a fortress district commander before he left Jinan for his new post. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0156 GMT 10 Jul 81 OW]

XIZANG WORK GROUP'S ACTIVITIES--Headed by Hou Jie, regional party committee Standing Committee member and regional people's government vice chairman, the Xizang work group visited commanders and fighters of the Ngari military subdistrict on 18 June, inspected PLA units and listened to the work report of the military subdistrict. Hou Jie encouraged the commanders and fighters to continue to carry forward our army's glorious traditions, to unite the cadres and masses and to make new contributions toward building and defending the border of the motherland. Chief of staff (Yang Yi) made a work report to the work group on behalf of the military subdistrict party committee. He also put forward some constructive suggestions. Members of the work group who are in charge of communications, public health, the postal system and telecommunications went deep into organs and PLA units to talk with commanders and fighters and to seek their opinions on developing communications, public health, the postal system and telecommunications in the prefecture. [HK180944 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 29 Jun 81 HK]

HUBEI PROVINCE PROMOTES CADRE EDUCATION

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 81 p 1

[Article: "Cadre Education in Hubei Standardized Gradually"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, cadre training in Hubei has made a new development and produced relatively good results. The enthusiasm of the cadres in studying has risen greatly and cadre education is gradually standardized.

In the years 1979 and 1980, the cadres of all levels and all categories undergoing training in the province constituted 37 percent of the total number of cadres, including 16,000 plus leading cadres of the county level and above. Party schools of the county level and above total 128, training more than 130,000 persons in the 2 years; vocational cadre schools of the provincial and prefectural (municipal) levels total 41, training more than 22,000 persons in the 2 years. In addition, the province also held various kinds of short-term rotational training classes and asked the institutions of higher education and intermediate vocational schools to hold on-job cadre training classes, training more than 170,000 persons in the 2 years. Sparetime cadre education has also made a relatively big development. There are more than 40,000 persons attending sparetime television and correspondence universities and all kinds of sparetime higher schools in the province.

After the national telephonic conference on cadre education, the provincial party committee, according to the spirit of the conference and the practical conditions of our province, made concrete arrangements and plans on cadre training. The various areas and branches further improved their understanding of the importance and urgency of cadre training and formulated plans and measures. The party committees of the various levels reinforced their leadership, clarified the special-duty and concurrent-duty structures, helped solve a number of practical difficulties in training work, and relatively successfully handled the problems of school buildings, funds, teachers and teaching material. In regard to the contents of training, the students learned both political theory and cultural, scientific and business management knowledge. In regard to the forms of training, there were both full-time training of

students released from work and sparetime training, and the proportion of systematic training was gradually increased.

In regard to the education on political theories, economic theories are currently the main content of training, further improving the cadres' ideological-political qualities and business management level in answer to the needs of the economic readjustment and the four modernization construction. In the course of training, the schools and classes focus on linking theory and practice, improving the comprehension of the party's lines and policies since the Third Plenary Session and further rectifying the ideological line. Through studying, the cadres of Jiangnan Petroleum Management Bureau summarized, in the aspect of epistemology, the source of the one-sidedness in thinking and understanding: First, failing to look at issues in an overall manner, frequently seeing the part as the whole and following the one-aspect doctrine; second, failing to look at things with a developing view, isolating the ups and downs, and the progresses and regresses in the readjustment, and one-sidedly finding the downs and regresses bad and the ups and progresses good; third, listening to rumors and gossips, using half-baked knowledge as the basis for situation analyses, and failing to make intensive investigations and studies. By summarizing the lessons, the cadres improved their thinking.

While conducting the education on political theories, the professional and cultural education of the cadres was also reinforced. Wuhan city, Yichang city and Xiaogan prefecture held young and adult cadres' cultural make-up and professional training classes, and the provincial power, foreign trade and civil engineering bureaus gave various intermediate professional training classes for the cadres. The terms of such training classes were all 1 year or more, and the results were relatively good. Sparetime education throughout the province also developed. On the foundation of consolidating the existing sparetime schools, a group of new sparetime schools was developed, enlarging the range of attendance of the cadres and staff and workers.

6080

CSO: 4005/745

'GUANGMING RIBAO' DISCUSSES CULTURAL GUIDELINES

HK190543 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by Fang Fei [2455 7236]: "It Is Necessary To Correctly Portray the 32 Years of New China"]

[Text] The sixth plenary session unanimously adopted the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China." The resolution adopted a Marxist stand, view and method and conducted a thorough appraisal of new China's history since its founding 32 years ago. It scientifically summed up the experience of socialist revolution and construction under party leadership. It is a document of great historic significance. The document also has great instructive significance for current literary and artistic creation.

As the "resolution" pointed out, since the founding of new China, under party leadership, the people have accomplished remarkable and brilliant achievements on the road of revolution and socialist construction. It is undeniable that our party has made mistakes and there were serious errors such as "the Great Cultural Revolution." However, our party has corrected its own mistakes and guided the people all over the country onto the road of socialist construction and healthy development, and marched towards the great four modernizations. During the past 32 years, the tremendous progress and the profound changes that happened in the history of our country were unprecedented in world history. Our literary and artistic creation should proceed from historical facts and strive to describe these remarkable achievements and the tremendous historical progress in fields such as industry, agriculture, science and technology, culture, education, public health, military affairs and so on. We must strive to depict heroic achievements and the progressive spirit of the cadres and the masses in socialist revolution and construction, so as to encourage the people to do a better job in propelling history forward.

Literature and art should reflect history as it was. Since achievement is the mainstream in the history of new China since its founding 32 years ago, therefore, literary and artistic creation should give priority to depicting achievements in the past 32 years. Does this mean that we should not write about the mistakes we have committed? Certainly not. The question is that we should all the same

proceed from the reality and adopt a correct attitude when writing about errors. First of all, the writers should have the overall situation in mind and must not confuse circumstantial with general errors, or the secondary with the primary, nor depict a gloomy picture of history. Even when depicting the 10 catastrophic years, we should strive to explore the beauty of life and depict how the cadres and masses struggled against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, and against erroneous things. At the same time, we must not merely describe the superficial phenomena, nor engross ourselves in exaggerating disasters and depict them as farces; instead, we should act according to the principle of using typical examples and strive to depict the social and historical origins which constituted these errors. Thus we can vividly tell the people the way to overcome and prevent errors. In writing history, only if we abide by the principle of historical materialism can we help the people correctly understand history and strengthen their confidence to make further advance.

As socialist revolution and construction are not all plain sailing without difficulties, literary and artistic creation would certainly make mistakes and produce some erroneous or even unsuccessful works in the course of depicting the history in the past 32 years. This is not at all surprising; what is important is that we should promptly sum up our experiences. At present, equipped with the spirit of the "resolution," so long as we are bold in practice and good at conducting discussions and summing up experiences through regular literary criticisms, we will be able to do an even better job in depicting a correct picture of new China in the past 32 years.

CSO: CSO: 4005/781

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITERS, ARTISTS SUPPORT PARTY RESOLUTION

OW171350 Beijing XINHUA in English 1235 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Beijing, July 17 (XINHUA)—China's leading writers and artists supported the recent party Central Committee plenary session's spirit of seeking truth from facts, democracy and unity.

The same spirit, they stressed, should be developed in the field of literature and art.

More than 400 prominent writers and artists met and shared their views at a three-day gathering starting from July 15 in a review of the sixth plenary session of the 11th Central Committee of the party.

The meeting was organized by the propaganda department of the party Central Committee, the Ministry of Culture and the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles.

Zhou Yang, deputy director of the propaganda department and chairman of the China Federation, urged continuous effort in eliminating the leftist influence in the field of literature and art. This is the major thing, while errors from the right and liberalization should also be overcome, he said.

He said that the current thriving of literature and art was a product of the line of the third plenary session of the party's 11th Central Committee held toward the end of 1978. Achievements are the main aspect although shortcomings and errors should not be overlooked.

He also pointed out that Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art should be enriched and developed in the light of fresh experience.

Xia Yan, vice-chairman of the China Federation, noted that the Chinese Communist Party had matured in the tests over the past 60 years of its existence. He called particular attention to the fact that in the history of the party, leftist errors often repeated themselves and lasted long. They were deep-rooted, he said, but errors of the right nature should not escape attention either. Historical lessons should be studied seriously for a healthy development of literature and art.

Acting Minister of Culture Zhou Weizhi recalled how Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art had nurtured generations of Chinese writers and artists who stood fast in the struggle against the gang of four.

With regard to improving leadership in cultural work, Zhou Weizhi stressed the following points: the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is essential to the development of socialist literature and art; real efforts to implement this principle began only after the party's third plenary session and more experience is needed; criticism and self-criticism are necessary in building a socialist culture, but the right way to do it is to guide rather than to resort to crude measures.

Fu Zhong, vice-chairman of the Chinese Federation and deputy-director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, in his written speech called on writers and artists to go into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers, develop the national character of Chinese culture.

Writer Wang Meng said it called for "arduous work" to translate the spirit of the party resolution into reality, but what had already been done promised bright future for the country.

Discussions are focused on the orientation of literature and art serving socialism and the people, encouraging writers and artists to go among the worker and peasant masses, a correct appraisal of the younger generation, attaching importance to cultural heritage, satisfying the cultural needs of the peasants and carrying out sound literary criticism.

CSO: 4020/229

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG OVERSEAS CHINESE AFFAIRS--The Guangdong Provincial Government and Guangzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee held a report meeting on 23 June in Zhongshan Memorial Hall to convey the spirit of the national overseas Chinese affairs work forum and other related decisions of the provincial CCP committee. Liang Lingguang, provincial CCP committee secretary and the first secretary of Guangzhou Municipality spoke at the meeting. He stressed that the whole party should attach importance to overseas Chinese affairs work, and bring into full play the advantages of being the homeland of many overseas Chinese so as to speed up the four modernizations in our province and promote the return of Taiwan to the motherland. At present, we must grasp doing a good job in the following works: 1. Give overseas Chinese who have returned home equal political rights without any discrimination, and redress unjust, false and wrong cases concerning overseas Chinese. 2. Seriously implement the housing policy for overseas Chinese. 3. Show concern for returned overseas Chinese intellectuals and encourage them to participate in the four modernizations. 4. Do a good job in supplying commodities for overseas Chinese. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 23 Jun 81 HK]

GUANGXI BOOK DISTRIBUTION--From 10 to 16 June, the Guangxi Regional Publication Administrative Bureau and the regional supply and marketing cooperative jointly held a conference in Nanning on distribution of books in the rural areas. The conference conveyed and implemented the spirit of the national conference on the publication and distribution of books in the rural areas and exchanged experiences in distributing books in the rural areas. The conference looked into, strengthened and improved the measures for distributing books in the rural areas. The number of books distributed in the rural areas in the region in 1980 was 83 percent more than in 1979 and 130 percent more than in 1975. The population in the rural areas in the region accounts for more than 90 percent of the whole region's population. Strengthening the distribution of books in the rural areas is the major task of the Xinhua bookshops at all levels and is also the work of the grassroots supply and marketing cooperatives which cannot be disregarded. The region must deepen understanding of the importance of the distribution of books in the rural areas. [HK030931 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Jun 81 HK]

CS0: 4005/781

PARTY AND STATE

ATTEMPT SEEN TO TURN TAIWAN INTO 'ANOTHER ISRAEL'

HK241204 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 24 Jul 81 p 1

["New Talk" column: "The Matter of China and the Support of the United States"]

[Text] The U.S. ambassador-designate to Beijing Arthur Hummel is "standing up to the test of congress." He is waiting for approval of his appointment. He said appropriately to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "Let the Chinese themselves solve their own problems." He added that the United States should not meddle in the affairs of the mainland and Taiwan.

This reminds us of what Sun Yun-hsuan, Taiwan's president of executive branch, said 4 or 5 days ago: "The problems of China should be solved by the Chinese themselves. The future of the Chinese people should be created by the Chinese people themselves." He made the remarks at the closing session of the "National Construction Council."

What Sun Yun-hsuan said was also right. If what he said was sincere and his actions match his words, he has done the right thing in principle.

The "problem" mentioned by Sun Yun-hsuan was the same as that mentioned by Hummel--the problem of the reunification of China--the problem of the reunification of the mainland and Taiwan.

Taiwan and the mainland share an identical view on this subject. They also hold divergent views on this subject. The identical view is that they do not object to the reunification. Judging from the surface of the matter, they hold divergent views on how to accomplish the reunification.

However, a handful or a small number of people in Taiwan actually [words indistinct] no. Some of them have tried [word indistinct] the power of the United States to resist moves toward reunification.

Among the Americans and the American officials, there are some people who are thinking, acting and supporting Taiwan, so that it will become a political body or even continue being a "country" which is separated from mainland China. In so doing, they are trying to protect and develop their own interests. The ideas of developing "official relations" with Taiwan and selling weapons to Taiwan are reflections of this.

The Taiwan authorities have adopted a stubborn or even abominable attitude toward the problem of reunification. It is mainly because they are supported by Washington. The more Washington supports Taipei, the more arrogant it becomes. It has recently gotten swollen-headed and gone so far as to assume the intimidating posture of the "savior" of China.

The Chinese people cannot tolerate the creation of another "Israel" within their own country and Taiwan will never become "Israel" inside China. Today, the actions of Israel are ridiculous. It is still more ridiculous for anyone to try to prop up another "Israel" inside a country.

CSO: 4005/783

PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM OF 'BITTER LOVE' HAS ENDED

HK200238 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 18 Jul 81 p 4

[Report from Beijing: "Criticism of 'Bitter Love' Has Ceased; Some People Tried but Failed To Get a Movement Going"]

[Text] At a recent forum held by people in Chinese literary and art circles to discuss and implement the "resolution on some problems in the history of the party since the founding of the state," many people touched on the criticism of literature and art.

Zhou Weizhi said that the practice of criticism and self-criticism is a fine tradition of the party which must be continuously upheld. He said that the idea that "criticism is not to be made" is wrong. It is also wrong to assume a liberal attitude toward what is wrong. What is wrong should be criticized, but to make criticism does not mean using the stick.

Referring to the criticism of "Bitter Love" some time ago, Wu Zuguang said that the situation once assumed such serious proportions that people worried about another movement getting underway. Now the criticism has come to an end. This shows that people now cannot get a movement going just because they want to.

Cao Yu said that the criticism of literature and art should be a matter of seeking truth from facts and reasoning things out with people. Pressure should not be brought to bear and something wrong should not be exaggerated.

Wang Meng said that any discussion on the literary and art front should be more scientific and sensible. He said that things are very complicated in literary and art circles and talking freely is normal. But we cannot let our imaginations run wild. Anything unscientific and illusory should be reduced to the minimum. We should take a cool and scientific attitude toward the exploration of literary and art problems.

Having just undergone an operation, Yang Hansheng could not attend the forum. In a written statement, he said that having differing views on and taking issue with certain works is normal, but we must keep our heads where major problems of principle are concerned.

CSO: 4005/783

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG PLANNED PARENTHOOD DISCUSSED

First Installment

HK271220 Hong Kong CHENG MING JIH PAO in Chinese 27 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by correspondent Lo Ming: "'Leftism' Has Not Changed, and Pregnancy Is a Crime--The Ultra-Leftist Practice of 10 Counties and Municipalities in East Guangdong in Planned Parenthood Work"--First Installment; subheads in boldface]

[Text] CHENG MING JIH PAO received many readers' letters reporting the inhuman tendency of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" in developing planned parenthood work in Huiyang Prefecture and especially in Dongguan County. For this reason, I made a special trip recently to Huiyang Prefecture to gather news. The information I got was indeed shocking. Facts have demonstrated that the unruly planned parenthood work was purely the result of the fact that the pernicious influence of "leftism" among the middle and lower-level cadres has not been eliminated. According to what was disclosed by the departments concerned, the leadership of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and the State Council did not agree with the erroneous practice of Huiyang Prefecture in planned parenthood work.

A Curious Meeting on Opposing 'Leftism'

The Huiyang Prefectural CCP Committee held a meeting in Huizhou Municipality at the end of April. The meeting was attended by prefectural, county and commune cadres and the main topic was on implementing the spirit of the central work conference and eliminating the pernicious influence of "leftism." Second, it would also deal with the question of planned parenthood. The meeting was originally scheduled to last for 7 days so that the participants should be able to return home for May Day after the meeting. Later, however, because of the need to grasp the question of planned parenthood, the meeting was extended twice and did not end until 6 May. At the meeting, the prefectural CCP committee's acting secretary Du so-and-so raised a cry of warning: The central task in May and June is to grasp planned parenthood work. It is an overriding task. This is because if we do not grasp the work now, we will cause a great disaster for China. At the same time, he also said: We must also whip up an upsurge in September and October. At the meeting, targets were assigned to all counties and municipalities based on the prefecture's preliminary statistics of around 100,000 (referring to the number of pregnant women having their second or more

babies). The meeting demanded that they must bring down the figure by 47,000 in the first battle, otherwise they should never call off the battle. As a result of that, the prefectural organs and all counties and municipalities immediately took action to vigorously fight the "people's war." The question of "leftism" or no "leftism" was tossed to one side.

Secretary Du Was Full of 'Leftist' Views

At an enlarged Standing Committee meeting of the prefectural CCP committee on 26 May, Secretary Du again made an important speech. (There was an official document and it was transmitted among cadres and masses.) The speech was entitled: "We must win victory in the decisive battle in planned parenthood work." He mainly spoke on four points (excerpts of his original speech): 1) We must develop planned parenthood work in the same manner as we fought the Huai-Hai campaign. We must muster up our courage, strengthen our confidence and never withdraw our forces until we win a complete victory. 2) Our planned parenthood program is nationwide. Although we are working contrary to the will of the people, this is perfectly normal. (What is new here is that the masses have been seriously affected by feudal ideas.) 3) All actions which can control our population are correct. It does not matter that some problems (meaning some accidents) occur in such a big mass movement; and the prefectural CCP committee will not investigate and affix your (meaning the leaders) responsibility. At present, our prefecture has adopted not the local policies but foreign policies. 4) For those who are pregnant without being allowed for in the plans, their fetuses will still have to go even though they have already been dismissed from party membership or from the brigade or have been fined. Du so-and-so also vowed to give substantial spiritual and material rewards to those cadres who do a good job of the work.

Pregnant Women Are Sent to the 'Cow-Pen'

In this "Huai-Hai campaign" in dealing with the masses, the "study course" and "cow pen" during the "cultural revolution" have emerged once again. For example, many communes in Dongguan County gathered (to live and eat together) all pregnant women who are having their second or more babies to "study" in the communes. The communes adopted a high-handed policy and exerted pressure on those pregnant women. The personnel of the work groups (which are formed by the departmental and committee office cadres selected and sent by the county CCP committee to various communes in conjunction with the heads of the commune party committees and other units) actually adopted an attitude of dealing with the enemy in dealing with those innocent young women (and sometimes their husbands as well). During the discussion sessions, they often overwhelmed the other party with an absolutely dominant position of five to one. As a matter of fact, they simply did not base themselves on reason. Even for those who were pregnant for 9 months, they still attempted to "clarify" the minds of those pregnant women through the study courses before sending them to have surgical operations. The "students" were not allowed to have mutual contact nor "pass on information" to one another. It was actually just like the "cow pen" during the "cultural revolution" and it went even further than controlling the "monsters and freaks of all descriptions." Some organs of the prefectural units actually did the same. An example would be the prefectural pharmaceutical company.

While vigorously running the "study courses," those cadres also resurrected the "mass criticism rally" which had disappeared for years. They oversimplified ideological education and launched a shock attack. They carried out "education in mass rallies" (actually it was criticisms in mass rallies) among the pregnant women, vainly attempting to discredit people's reputation and ruin people's mental and physical health.

Going Down to the Countryside To Catch Pregnant Women

Some local authorities even sent vehicles to the rural villages to grab pregnant women by force and send them to the hospitals to have an abortion. Wherever the vehicles went, the pregnant women there would all be panic-stricken. The vehicles were filled with wailing noises and the scenes were really bitterly distressing. The hospital wards were even more terrible to behold. Many good and honest people were forced to have their dear unborn babies aborted and many people were deeply grieved over their great loss of blood. Many aborted babies which were actually crying when they were born died in an instant through such miscarriage of justice.

Some people witnessed that a rural commune member who had been pregnant for 10 months (who had already had a girl) was grabbed and sent to the hospital. She was immediately given an injection and, 3 hours later, the baby born--but then it stopped breathing. They also saw that some pregnant women were sent to the hospital handcuffed. While some were sent there tied up with ropes, worse still, some (probably those who were regarded as mischievous) were sent there in a pig's basket. In addition, the victims had to pay for the transportation expenses and wages for the hatchet men regarding the vehicles sent to grab them. To ensure secure transportation, some local authorities even deployed armed personnel to escort the pregnant women. It was said that the Huidong County public security bureau in fact issued a large number of such "warrants" and the "pregnancy" was filled in the blank space for the crime committed. This was indeed very absurd!

Second Installment

HK290222 Hong Kong CHENG MING JIH PAO in Chinese 28 Jul 81 p 1

[Article by correspondent Lo Ming: "Jokes, Strange Happenings, All Kinds of Oddities--The Ultraleftist Practice of 10 Counties and Municipalities in East Guangdong in Planned Parenthood Work"--Second Installment]

[Text] Mistaking a Plump Girl for a Pregnant Woman

In the "Hui-Hai campaign" of planned parenthood in the 10 counties and municipalities in Huiyang Prefecture, the atmosphere is terrifying. Miracles as well as jokes were created. Here are one or two of the many.

The No 2 cadre guesthouse in Dongguan County was formerly only opened for the purpose of cadre meetings. However, it serves another purpose now. Since a number of pregnant women flocked to the town and the hotel could not hold them all, the county CCP committee cannot but "reluctantly part with their dear treasure" and vacate the No 2 guesthouse for the pregnant women, so that they do not have to sleep in the open. These women from the rural areas have never gone to a town in their lives. It is difficult to tell whether it is an honour or a disgrace for them, now that they can live in the cadre guesthouse.

There is an unmarried young girl in Huizhou Municipality who is only 19. She works for the goods and materials bureau in Huiliang County. Since she is rather plump and short, she looks a bit like a pregnant woman. One day, she was almost arrested in the street to receive an "abortion" in the hospital. After vigorous debate, the people who arrested her phoned the unit where she worked and found that they had mistaken the plump girl for a pregnant woman.

Water and Power Supplies Cut, People Put in Water Cages

In the case of those who are pregnant without being allowed for in the plan, if they are not obedient (meaning, they are unwilling to have an operation, or escape from one), water and power supplies for those living in cities and towns will be cut off, while those living in the rural areas will have their power cut off, their front doors will be sealed and will be fined. Such phenomena are most prominent in Liaobu commune of Dongguan County. Not only are doors sealed, roofs are pried up and people are not allowed to give food to children who are driven away, otherwise they will be fined; and they have to find out who are the parents of the children. As for children born in excess of the quota (meaning a third child for peasants in rural areas and a second child or more for personnel of commune enterprises and cadres and staff of state organizations), the parents are fined 840 yuan to be paid all at once. If you are unable to produce the money, the television sets, radion, recorders or bicycles in your house will be taken away. Such acts absolutely defy laws human and divine. There was a woman teacher in Liaobu commune (her husband also a state teacher); since she refused to "abort" her second child, she could only flee to Shenzhen. Meanwhile, her husband at home was arrested and put in a watercage. Her family members had to send relatives to take her back and have an abortion, so that her husband could escape from the torture.

Even Visitors From Hong Kong Are Not Spared

In the "people's war," the old practice by which the relatives and friends of the one involved in a criminal case are punished has been brought back. The most significant examples could be found in denouncing the fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of women who "committed crime." If a pregnant woman flees, her family members are arrested instead, to face punishment. Exit permits of a "fiance" or relatives from Hong Kong are detained.

A visitor from Hong Kong whose native county is Dongguan returned to the county to marry a widow. According to the regulations, they could have one child. The wife had been pregnant for 8 months. However, it so happened that the trend did not favor her having a baby. Since she was unwilling to have an abortion, she fled. The visitor from Hong Kong was cheated into returning to the county; when the baby was born, he was fined 840 yuan and permitted to leave for Hong Kong only after he had undergone a sterilization operation.

There Is No Road to Heaven and No Door Into the Earth

When this wind is blowing, whoever dares say "no" or accidentally mentions something out of keeping with the times will be criticized. For example, a film projectionist

said that the comparison to the "Hual-Hai campaign" was inappropriate. How many people have they killed this time? The film projectionist was later criticised by the secretary of the commune CCP committee for a whole day and asked to criticise himself. Therefore, nobody dares to speak from the bottom of his heart in public, and everyone is forced to keep his resentment to himself.

It was said that the sudden encirclement and suppression of the pregnant women in the 10 counties and municipalities in East Guangdong was most "active" in Dongguan and Heyuan counties. Quyang De, secretary of Dongguan County CCP Committee, clearly stated: "There is no road to heaven and no door into the earth." What Quyang De said was not without evidence. Since the members of the leadership groups of planned parenthood in all counties and municipalities are all the number one men of the county CCP committees, or the number one men from the public security bureau, the court, and organization department and other organs, the public security bureaus will not accept and hear cases regarding illegal acts such as cadre persecution of pregnant women. I am afraid such a phenomenon is unique in the whole world.

To avoid being suspected of being "leftist," the leaders concerned reiterate that this is not a movement, so as to show their stand of being anti-"leftist." However, what is the real situation? To quote the masses, "this is a slaughter movement." Its characteristics are: 1. Adopt a high-handed policy and frequently threaten the cadres and the masses by "three suspensions and one limit" (meaning suspending somebody from his duties, salaries and work, and setting a time limit for one to have an abortion) and "double dismissal" (from party membership and from employment--of government cadres and staff and workers) no argument or disagreement is allowed. They openly proposed: "The policies must be carried out whether understood or not." (The words of Lin Biao in those years) Several people were dismissed from district organs because they had a second child. The chairman of the women's federation in Dongguan County was dismissed because she had a second baby.

'The Combat Gains' Were Not Carried in NANFANG RIBAO

On 26 to 28 June, a summation meeting was convened by Huiyang Prefectural CCP Committee on planned parenthood work. It was announced that the work had come to an end of a stage. All secretaries of county and municipal CCP committees participated. According to the usual practice, only achievements were reported and it was said that they had achieved the desired results (that means 47,000 fetuses were aborted).

As for the unprecedented "achievements" scored in planned parenthood in Huiyang Prefecture, however, to this day, not a word concerning the matter has been mentioned in the Guangdong provincial paper NANFANG RIBAO. It seems that the provincial paper does not appreciate these "combat gains." This might have something to do with the fact that the leaders of the provincial CCP committee do not agree with the erroneous practices of Huiyang Prefecture. A meeting of cadres at three levels in Huiyang Prefecture was convened at the end of April and the beginning of May, however, the news was not reported until 12 June in NANFANG RIBAO. However, the report did not mention a word about what was proposed by secretary Du as "an overriding central task in May and June" (meaning planned parenthood), instead, it only mentioned how cadres eliminated "leftist" ideology in the very good situation. Ironically enough, the pregnant women were at that time living in an abyss of suffering resulting from "leftism."

DEATH OF MATHEMATICIAN REPORTED

HK150732 Beijing WENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 81 p 4

[Dispatch: "Another Seriously Disputed Case--Chen Wen-cheng, a Doctor of Mathematics From the United States, Suddenly Dies a Tragic Death During His Stay in Taiwan Visiting Relatives"]

[Text] Hong Kong, 8 Jul (XINHUA)--According to reports from Taipei, Chen Wen-cheng, a Ph.D. in mathematics from the United States, suddenly died a tragic death on the campus of Taiwan University in the wee hours of 3 July. His death has become another seriously disputed case in Taiwan. Taiwan authorities said that Chen "committed suicide to escape punishment." However, Chen's family members and some personages in Taiwan said that it was unlikely that he committed suicide.

According to Taiwan press reports, the 31-year-old Chen Wen-cheng was a native of Taipei County. In 1967, he did exceedingly well in an entrance examination and was admitted to the Department of Mathematics of Taiwan University. In 1970, he was admitted to the graduate school of mathematics of Taiwan University. He was later admitted to the University of Michigan in the United States. In 1978, he received a doctorate and became an assistant professor of mathematics at a university in Pittsburg in the United States. He also got married in the United States. On 20 May this year, Chen, accompanied by his wife and son, arrived in Taiwan to visit his relatives, and they stayed with his father-in-law. Chen was originally scheduled to leave Taiwan for the United States on 1 July. It is said that "due to his failure to properly complete exit formalities," he could not "leave for the United States according to schedule." On the morning of 2 July, the personnel of the "garrison command" went to the house of Chen's father-in-law and took Chen to an "appointed interview" which lasted more than 10 hours. A Taiwan "garrison command" spokesman said: "The personnel of the garrison command interviewed Chen Wen-cheng. This was because some people in the United States had informed them of some of Chen's behavior and activities in the United States." The informants also accused Chen of participating in the activities of the "Taiwan independence movement" in the United States.

Chen's death has been widely discussed in Taiwan over the past few days. When Chen Wen-cheng's father was interrogated by the Taipei authorities, he said that his son did not participate in any political activity in the United States.

Chen's wife Chen Su-chen said: "Chen Wen-cheng lived a normal life. Besides ball games and swimming, he was fully occupied with teaching." Chen's elder brother Chen Wen-lung told Taiwan newspaper reporters that 1 July was his younger brother's scheduled date "to return to the United States to take charge of a large-scale research project. It was very unlikely that he would commit suicide." Some of Chen Wen-cheng's former schoolmates at Taiwan University said: None of Chen Wen-cheng's friends could figure out the cause of his mishap. Lai Tung-sheng, a professor of mathematics at Taiwan University, said: Just 2 weeks ago, Chen Wen-cheng "mentioned that he was working on a monograph at his university in America. His words showed much faith in the success of this study."

A Taiwan newspaper reported: Following Chen Wen-cheng's death, a "special group for the examination of Chen's case" organized by the Taipei Municipal Police authorities inspected the scene of the accident and said at that time: "Dr. Chen Wen-cheng's trauma was not caused by falling from the building" and "it seems he was assaulted." After a simulated test carried out on the morning of 4 July, the police authorities said Chen Wen-cheng "could not have fallen from the building." However, during a press conference held in the wee hours of the morning of 6 July, the Taiwan authorities, asserted that "there are indications that Chen Wen-cheng could have committed suicide to escape punishment."

CSO: 4005/782

PRE SOFTBALL PLAYERS INTERVIEWED ON GAME WITH TAIWAN

OW220209 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 1500 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Taiwan compatriots, the Chinese women's softball team played the Chinese Taipei women's softball team at the first world youth softball championships in the western Canadian city of Edmonton on the evening of 11 July. The Chinese team defeated the Taipei team 7 to 3. The game marked the first time sportsmen from China and Taipei met in an international competition. Following is our station reporters' recorded interview with members of the Chinese women's softball team who have just returned from Canada.

[Reporter] My name is (Wang Naixuan). This is my colleague (Zhao Luming). We are reporters for the Central People's Broadcasting Station's Taiwan Department. We know from TV and newspaper reports that you played the Taipei team. Can you tell us more about the game, your impressions and friendly contacts with members of the Taipei team?

[Player 1] When we learned we were playing a team from the same motherland, we were especially delighted. Our morale was higher.

Relations between our two teams were good. We exchanged conversations whenever we met and sat at the same table in the dining room because we were the only teams in the tournament who spoke the same language.

[Player 2] We asked each other about our native places and exchanged autographs, addresses and souvenirs.

[Player 3] They expressed the hope of visiting the mainland and said that they would like to visit Beijing if they could get a passport.

CRO: 4005/782

SCHOLARS ADVOCATE CONTACTS WITH PRC

OW281045 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0246 GMT 28 Jul 81

[Text] Beijing, 28 Jul (XINHUA)--According to a Taipei report, recently some scholars in Taiwan, including some from overseas, and teachers of primary and middle schools and young students in Taiwan criticized the policy of the Taiwan authorities of obstructing contacts between Taiwan and the motherland. The criticism was voiced at various meetings sponsored by the Taiwan authorities.

According to Taiwan newspaper reports, at this year's "national construction research meeting" called by the Taiwan authorities in Taipei in July, some scholars held that the so-called ideas of "unifying China under the three principles of the people" and of "demanding that the Chinese communists abandon communism" cannot be realized. In their speeches, Professor Zhang Zhongdong of Taiwan University, Professor Shen Luxun of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Xiao Xinhuang said that the Taiwan authorities should allow the people of Taiwan "to maintain some measure of contacts in such nonpolitical spheres as commerce, culture and physical culture" with the mainland, and that "it is better to make the 'three links' a permissible matter [postal, trade, and air and shipping links between Taiwan and the mainland]. At a group meeting held on 17 July, Zhang Zhongdong said: "Many people who came to Taiwan from the mainland become homesick as they advance in age." They take advantage of trips out of Taiwan to "sneak back to the mainland to see their old homes." "Since this is an established fact, we might as well study practical measures to establish contacts with the Chinese communists." By so doing, "we can lighten some of the burdens on the people's minds." Overseas Chinese scholar Cao Rixia suggested "we should allow anyone wanting to visit relatives on the mainland do so--everyone is free to come and go." Cai Jikun from the Philippines said at a meeting: The Taiwan authorities "should draw up a policy to enable our overseas compatriots to make contacts with overseas compatriots from the mainland."

According to the paper ZILI WANBAO, at a "seminar for journalistic personnel engaged in summer youth self-reliance activities" sponsored recently by the "National Salvation Corps" in Taiwan, some college students of journalism and other related subjects raised many questions that are politically sensitive and taboo, such as: the Chinese Communists occupy the entire mainland which

has a population of over 900 million. They can manufacture aircraft and guns. Taiwan is very small in area. Is there any hope in a counterattack against the mainland? The Chinese Communists are moving toward the four modernizations; at the same time want to achieve peaceful unification. Why should we continue to oppose the communists? We will not lose anything by sitting down and talking! There is no need to reject people from afar. For the sake of compatriotic love, Chinese should not slaughter one another.

At a forum of primary and middle school teachers now being held in Taiwan, a teacher named Yang Muzong asked: "Why should we refuse the postal links, the air and shipping service and the trade relations with our compatriots on the mainland?" The Taiwan authorities can answer this only by singing the same old tune: "This is part of the united front work scheme of the communist bandits and we should never be fooled by it."

CSO: 4005/782

TAIWAN

BRIEFS

SWAZILAND MINISTER--Taipei, 8 Jul (CNA)--Benjamin M. Nsibandze, deputy prime minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, and Mrs Nsibandze arrived in Taipei Wednesday for an 8-day visit. Nsibandze was greeted by Vice Premier Hsu Ching-chung and saluted by a guard of honor upon his arrival at the Sungshan military airport. Also present to welcome Nsibandze were Foreign Minister Chu Fu-sung, Economics Minister Chang Kwang-shih, Admiral Soong Chang-chih, chief of the general staff, and members of the diplomatic corps. In the afternoon, the Swazi dignitary called on Vice Premier Hsu to exchange views on the strengthening of future cooperation between the two nations. The Nsibandzes attended a dinner given in their honor by Hsu. [Text] [OW091132 Taipei CNA in English 1335 GMT 8 Jul 81 OW]

PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR WITH PRC--Taipei, 18 Jul (CNA)--The Republic of China has seized the initiative in its psywar efforts against the communist regime on the mainland, Gen. Wang Shen, director of the political warfare department of the Ministry of National Defense, claimed Friday. Speaking to the culture and mass media panel of the national development seminar, which is being held July 7-20 in Taipei General Wang also said satire and abusive language in free China's psywar output have been replaced with factual analysis and persuasion. The general noted that the overseas Chinese community has started a campaign call on the rulers of Red China to reject communism in favor of the San Min Chu I as the basis of national unification. [Text] [OW181019 Taipei CNA in English 0934 GMT 18 Jul 81]

YOUTHS TOUR GUANGXI--On 27 June, the Guangxi Youth Federation held a get-together for a Taiwan youth tour group from Fujian Province. Members of the tour group are mostly dependents of senior KMT military and government personnel. Ji Ruoli, a responsible person of the tourist department of the Guangxi Youth Federation, welcomed the Taiwan youths from Fujian Province. He expressed the hope that youths from Taiwan and the mainland could freely tour scenic spots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The Taiwan youths from Fujian Province expressed a wish to be reunited in the near future with relatives in Taiwan. [OW130637 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Mandarin 0749 GMT 2 Jul 81 OW]

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